

BARTON WARREN STONE

and

THE "CHRIST~~IS~~TIANS" OF THE WEST.

A biography of
BARTON WARREN STONE:

With particular reference to the Origin of
The "Christian Church" in the West,
and
its influence on
The "Disciples of Christ."

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P R E F A C E.

We shall attempt ~~a~~ re-study of that movement which was launched in America, a century and a quarter ago, as a rebellion against the tyranny of human authoritative standards in the faith of the church. That religious communion known as "Churches of Christ," "Christian Churches," or "Disciples of Christ," is the result of two intermingling forces, each pleading for the union of God's people, but placing a different emphasis on the method by which this might be accomplished.

Of Alexander Campbell much has been recorded in Disciple literature. But to Barton Warren Stone, to whom those people are as much indebted, if not more so, than to any other man, small honour has been given. In the face of the facts of history, this is difficult for the modern christian to understand; but in the spirit of that history, we can easily realize that the controversialist would take the centre of the stage, and turn the attention of the multitude from that quieter reformer, whose ruling motive was his love to God and man. Just as Peter, the militant, in the presence of the foe, eclipsed John, the apostle of love, so Alexander Campbell, who was ever ready to smite the High Priest's servant, became, in that day of religious debates, the recognized leader and champion of the united forces of these two movements. But with our changing sense of values, it behoves us to study again the sources of the teachings of a great religious communion. Ever loyal to that principle so early declared by them, that no human opinion should be of authority to Christians, there has never been, in the history of that religious body, one statement /

statement either of Stone or of Campbell, which has been held as binding on the hearts and consciences of its people. And while it is admittedly true that a sectarian spirit can be, and with them has often been, engendered around a set of doctrines or opinions received but not committed to writing, quite as much as around a statement drawn up by a Council, yet this crystallized doctrine cannot, with the same power, be chained to the succeeding generations. However, just as the teachings of both Catholicism and Protestantism can be traced to their common mother - the history of the first three centuries of the church - so the thought and tendencies among the Disciples of Christ, can be found in germ in the teachings of Barton Warren Stone and of Alexander Campbell.

With the exception of Stone's Autobiography to which is added some reflections and appreciations by his friend, Elder John Rogers, and which was published more than eighty years ago, no attempt has been made to give a true picture of the life and work of this worthy leader. And while the Cane Ridge Meeting-house is regarded as a memorial, by those people whose heritage it has become, there is a hazy and often wrong understanding, even among the ministers of that communion, as to the reasons for their beginnings as the "Christian Church" in Kentucky. In the absence of a detailed account of the break with the Presbyterians, and in the light of the fact that this came immediately upon the heels of the Cane Ridge Revival, which in numbers and interest so far exceeded the earlier years of this same revival movement, as to lead them to forget that the excitement was wide-spread, it has been concluded that Barton Stone must have been so far led astray by the mysticism of the times /

times, that he could no longer be tolerated in the folds of the Presbyterian Church. The facts, as will be seen, are quite the reverse. This neglect of the study of Stone, has led the Disciples, who, in their reaction against this same mysticism, have often been accused of teaching a "head-religion," to attempt to read into the principles of Alexander Campbell, all of those things for which they stand. The influence of Barton Stone is dominant in the American branch of the movement; that of Alexander Campbell in the "Churches of Christ" in Britain.

With this study the fact must be recognized that Stone and Campbell mutually influenced each other to a large degree. In considering the contributions of each of these leaders, I have adopted the only fair method, which is to picture the teachings of each up to the time of the union of the two movements. Alexander Campbell's views changed radically. While in the pages of the "Christian Baptist" he could denounce with scathing language, both ministers and missionary societies, he later founded Bethany College, one of the oldest Disciple training schools for their ministry, and he became the first President of the "American Christian Missionary Society." Upon his views the Stone movement had a softening influence. This is reflected as early as 1835, for in the re-publishing of the "Christian Baptist" into the Burnett Edition - seven volumes in one - as it is known to-day among Disciples, and as it was personally revised by Alexander Campbell,¹ many of the most bitter denunciations are omitted. In the preface to the fifteenth edition, Burnett apologetically attempts "to correct any improper impression which some of the early articles of the Christian Baptist may have been the occasion of creating,"
by /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. viii. p. 379.

by explaining that "we now have our bible, missionary, and tract institutions, and brother Campbell himself has accepted the presidency of one of them." The recognized works on the theology of Alexander Campbell are based on his matured beliefs, and are of little value to a study such as we intend. I have not referred to the original "Christian Baptist" with the spirit which is common to-day, of exposing the idiosyncrasies of great men, but that we might see the movements in the light of the day in which they had their beginnings.

Philip Schaff has cautioned us: "The first duty of the historian, which comprehends all others, is fidelity and justice. He must reproduce the history itself, making it live again in his representation. His highest and only aim should be, like a witness, to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and, like a judge, to do full justice to every person and event which comes under his review."

The study of the life and influence of Barton Stone is practically an untouched field. Believing that "history should be written from the original sources of friend and foe, in the spirit of love and truth," I have searched the libraries of both Disciples and Presbyterians for the original documents from which to build this story. The bibliography, particularly in regard to the Presbyterian controversies, is very complete; and remembering the difficulties I experienced in finding these pamphlets, all of which are very rare, I have, with the belief that this is but the primary study which will be followed by other and abler works, listed the libraries in which these may be found. The Librarians of the various Colleges, Theological Seminaries and Universities, as well as the /

the Public Libraries, which I have visited, were very gracious in giving me free access to their oldest and most valued works. And to those individuals into whose keeping has been given documents, priceless to the historian of the church in Kentucky - the original hand-written Minutes of the early Presbyteries and of the Synod - I feel doubly indebted. As would be expected, the original documents are mostly found in Kentucky, which was the geographical setting for the events which were so epochal in the life of the American churches. However, the Durrett Collection, assembled by a Kentuckian, but at his death, the property of Chicago University, is essential to any thorough study of the period which we are considering.

In an attempt to give a true picture of the people and the times, without which a correct understanding of the events is impossible, I have dwelt at length upon the physical condition of the country, and the theological teachings of that day and locality. The pen sketches, made by a friend, help to picture the newness of the country. So rapidly has America changed that it is difficult for the historian of that country, much more so, for that one in Europe, to visualise Kentucky as it was in 1800. And so vitally have many of our religious conceptions altered, that the Presbyterian of Lexington is as strange to the teachings of Adam Rankin, as the Disciple in that same city is to the early teachings of Alexander Campbell. Dr. Dorchester, in his "Christianity in the United States," most aptly tells us that "the most pious people in the beginning of the present century (19th) in the United States, entertained a faith so unlike the present belief of evangelical christians as to almost create the impression on our minds that their religion was not the same as the religion which we now /

now have, and in which we believe."

In considering Barton Stone, I have taken as my guide the petition of a friend, found in a letter written on December the 5th, 1844, less than a month after his death. To his plea that the biography of Stone be written, he attaches what, in his mind, should be the plan of that book; and this I have taken as the chart for my work. He states: 'I think that a brief account of his early life, and a very full account of his separation from the Presbyterians - and copious extracts from his writings on all the prominent subjects that engaged his attention, and that will clearly define his position, should have a place in the contemplated volume. I want it seen that his object has ever been truth - the union of christians - the salvation of sinners - and not the founding and building up of another sect."¹

1. Letter of Elder T.M. Allen, Christian Messenger, vol. xiv. p. 244.

V. E. K.

Edinburgh, September, 1928.

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE SETTLEMENT OF KENTUCKY.

Previous to 1760, the country west of the Cumberland mountains was practically unknown to the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard of America. As a French possession, it had been visited by a few explorers and Jesuit missionaries. However, after the treaty of Paris, in 1763, by which England acquired the Canadas and the Mississippi Valley - excepting Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain - a few brave adventurers began to find their way into the interior. These men were regarded with an awe somewhat similar to that which Columbus inspired when he set sail for he knew not where. The territorial limits of the country were unknown. From the summit of the mountains, there stretched before them one vast green forest. In this lurked the stealthy Indian - the pioneer's worst foe. Dangerous animals, treacherous rivers and deadly fevers, must be encountered. But the sons of those determined men who had risked their all to the little "Mayflower," and the sons of other men who had followed after, were not deterred by danger or hardship. The War for Independence temporarily stopped this westward emigration; and, it has been estimated, that, when peace was declared in 1783, less than twenty thousand Anglo-Americans were settled west of the Alleghany mountains.¹

American emigration has usually moved westward on straight /

1. Baird, Religion in America, p. 22.

straight lines. It is natural that men should prefer the same latitude in which they have been living, for the climatic and other conditions are similar to those to which they have become accustomed. In accordance with this westward trend of civilization, we find the men from North Carolina as the first to enter that land of promise, which has since become world-famed in story and song - Kentucky and Tennessee. Passing over the supposed visit of James McBride, who, with others, as early as 1754, passed down the Ohio river in canoes, and the equally obscure penetration of Dr. Walker into the north-eastern portion of Kentucky, four years later,¹ we may consider John Finley to have been the first real explorer of the country.² During the year 1767, with a few companions, he journeyed into the interior; and came back with wondrous tales of the Paradise they had found. Soon after his return, he met Daniel Boone, who lived at the head-waters of the Yadkin river, in North Carolina. They were kindred spirits, and friends at once. Finley related his experiences, to which Boone's few hair-breadth escapes sunk into insignificance. Boone determined to visit this country. Accordingly, in 1769, with a small party, and Finley as the guide, he explored Kentucky.

To men like Finley and Boone, this untouched wilderness was a veritable Eden. No trees had been felled. Nature had bountifully stocked the country with game. Deer, elk and buffalo lived in abundance in the dense forests and in the thickets of green cane; in the more open country, partridges, pheasants and turkeys were plentiful. Though rich in soil and game, there was no human habitation in the land. But while /

1. Redford, History of Methodism in Kentucky, p. 18.
2. Flint, The First White Man of the West, p. 79.

while this belonged to no tribe of Indians as a home, it was claimed by all as a common hunting ground; and here these savage hunters often met and fought each other for their rights to the country, and the skins of the animals they had killed. Because of these struggles, the Indians called this section of the country, "Kain-tuck-kee," interpreted by some to mean "The Middle Ground," but more commonly as "The Dark and Bloody Ground," for it was thickly wooded and deeply shaded.¹ Boone was enraptured, and resolved to make this virgin land his future home. Here, "far in advance of the wearying monotony of a life of inglorious toil, he would have space to roam unwitnessed, undisturbed by those of his own race, whose only thought was to cut down trees."² Such adventurers as John Finley and Daniel Boone were to lead the way in which thousands soon would follow.

The settlement of this country was hastened by the grants of western lands which were made to the Virginia soldiers who had helped the British win this land from the French. Beginning with 1772, surveying parties were sent out to open up these new territories.

However, no settlement had as yet been established in that part of Virginia which was known as Kentucky. Daniel Boone sold his farm on the Yadkin river, and, in September 1773, with a party of eighty people, began his removal to the West. Two weeks out, they were surprised by Indians, and several killed, among them Boone's son. Discouraged and grief-stricken, they returned to the Clinch river, forty miles in the rear; here he lived with his family until June, 1774. In the meantime, he headed various exploring parties of surveyors /

1. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. i. p. 8.
2. Flint, The First White Man of the West, p. 37.

surveyors, and helped to negotiate treaties with the Indians. Later he was appointed to open up a trail for the passage of pack horses, single file. This was done to make possible the settlement of the new country. He arrived on the banks of the Kentucky river and began the erection of a fort, consisting of a few cabins and a block house, all enclosed in a pallisade. This fort at Boonesborough was completed in June, 1775. He returned and brought his family to this first garrison in Kentucky.¹ Daniel Boone was Kentucky's first settler,² and his wife and daughter were the first white women ever seen in that land.³ While the fort was being built, one man was killed by the Indians, and the work was constantly interrupted. The savages were incensed at seeing their beautiful hunting ground appropriated by strangers; and when they saw those Pale-faces deliberately building permanent settlements, they seemingly determined to utterly exterminate their daring foes. From that time, for many a long year after, the white man lived in constant danger from these persistent warriors. But the "conqueror of the wilderness had come, a vast army was following at his back, and the future of the Dark and Bloody Ground was decided."⁴

By the end of 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence from Britain, so great had become the possibilities of this new country, that the legislature of Virginia, in order to accommodate with civil government those people in that remote part of Fincastle county, declared the southwestern portion to be a new and distinct county by the name of Kentucky. It appears that at this time, Boonesborough, Harrodsborough, and Logan's Fort, were the only permanent settlements⁵ /

1. Flint, The First White Man of the West, p. 83.

2. Flint, The First White Man of the West, p. 83.

3. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. i, p. 22.

4. Ranck, History of Lexington, p. 16.

5. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. i. p. 442.

settlements. The westward emigration which had largely ceased during the Revolutionary War, was renewed with increased vigour, after peace was declared.

In 1790, the census taken under the authority of the federal government, gave the population of Kentucky as 73,677. Of this number, 61,133 were free white persons; the remainder black or mulatto slaves - with the exception of a few free blacks. At least one half of the white people, and probably three fourths of the slaves, were from Virginia; the others were mostly from Penn., Md., and North Carolina, in a proportion comparative to their own population.¹

In 1792, after much angry disputation and dissatisfaction on the part of the settlers, because of trade relations, the new government of Kentucky as a State was put into operation.² Two more years had passed since the taking of the census, during which time thousands of new settlers had arrived.

These first emigrants were chiefly men who were rough and simple in their habits, frank in their dealings, and above all, hospitable and generous. They did not represent the more privileged classes, even in the young United States. They had few educational advantages. Nature was their text book. There was little time or opportunity for the cultivation of the mind. "Men must have bread before books. Men must learn the language of the rifle, the axe and the plough, before they learn the lessons of Grecian and Roman philosophy and history."³

During these early days, the settlers came west in parties because of danger from the Indian attacks. They brought with them only the bare necessities, which could be carried on horseback, as no road had yet been opened up for wheeled /

1. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. i, p. 442.

2. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. i, p. 442.

3. Milburn, Pioneer Preachers and People of the West, p. 392.

wheeled vehicles. The faithful packhorse was the pioneer's accepted means for moving his family and household effects. One of Kentucky's early residents pictures for us a typical mode of transportation: "A few rude culinary implements, with bread and meat for the journey, constituted the contents of one end of a large sack, called a wallet, made somewhat after the fashion of saddlebags; while a small bed and bedding with now and then a little fellow too small to retain his equilibrium on horseback, were ordinarily stowed away in the other, the head of the little one protruding just far enough for breathing purposes. The mother sat enthroned between this moving kitchen and nursery, guiding the horse and administering to the wants of the babes, while the proud father, with unerring rifle on his shoulder, and his faithful dog by his side, led the way, dreaming of contentment and plenty in the Canaan of the West."¹

But often long years would roll away before they were established in comfortable homes. With the help of neighbours, the "newcomer" would erect a rude cabin of logs, girdle the trees around it, clear out the underbrush, and plant his corn. He never went into the woods without his gun as a protection against marauding Indians. The pioneer wife and mother was a brave woman. She must ever be prepared to defend her home against surprise attacks, during the absence of her husband. She must be watchful lest the babies stray away from the cabin and be lost in the woods. Her home was the rudest imaginable. There was no furniture but what could be built from the materials at hand. A slab of wood fastened to sticks answered as the table, and chairs were made in the same way. Beds were made by laying poles on /

1. Samuel Rogers, Autobiography, p. 3.

on forked sticks which had been put into the ground or stuck between the logs of the cabin. Mattresses consisted of oak leaves and cattails stripped off and dried in the sun. The floor was of the coarsest puncheons, or, more often the hard earth served the purpose. Game was plentiful for food, but it must be hunted at great danger from the Indians. The meal for bread was pounded in a mortar or ground on a handmill. If the family was not too poor, tea or coffee was a special treat for Christmas and Sunday dinners. Sugar was obtained from the maple tree, and the sugar makings were neighbourhood festivities. Money was scarce, but there was very little need for it. Taxes must be paid on the lands. Salt must be purchased. Shoes were to be desired, but buckskin moccasins could supply the need; the children, boys and girls, often went bare-footed until they were practically grown. A boy of sixteen took the place of a man in labour and hunting, and was ready to go to war. The young people married early in life - the boys from eighteen to twenty one, and the girls from sixteen to twenty; they either settled on the farm next to one of their parents, or obtained a "claim" farther west. After the Revolutionary ~~war~~^{were} closed and commerce revived, living conditions and homes began to improve. Clothing and furniture from Europe was brought into the interior, and were exchanged for furs, skins and other produce of the country.

Indian hostilities, however, continued. We read in the "Kentucky Gazette"¹ of May, 31st, 1790, the following item:-
 "On Sunday, the twenty third inst. as a company of people were /

1. The Kentucky Gazette was a newspaper, published from a log cabin office in Lexington, Ky. The first number was issued, Saturday, August 18, 1787. Original copies are on file in the Lexington Public Library.

were going home from meeting on Brashier's Creek, they were fired on by a party of Indians, and one man killed, and a woman taken prisoner; they were immediately followed by a party, and when likely to be overtaken, killed the woman, and dispersed so that they could not be followed any farther."

Such instances were not unusual. Boats on the Ohio river were continually fired upon from the shores. In advertising keel-boats that carried the trade from Cincinnati to Pittsburg, the "Centinel of the North West Territory," of January 4th, 1794, remarks:-

"No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover, made proof against rifle or musket balls, with convenient port-holes for firing out of."¹

However, the most of the Kentucky settlements were near to Lexington, and it was unusual for the Indians to come into the more thickly populated country. Men travelling from this centre to the older settlements, would usually go in parties and heavily armed. Announcements would be made in the newspaper, that on a certain date, a party would be made up, that they might travel together.²

Continued expeditions against the Indians seemed of no avail. The western settler generally blamed Britian for this constant menace. Added to their natural hatred and animosities³, caused by the Revolutionary War and its antecedents, were /

1. Baily, American Progress, p. 15.

2. "Notice. A large Company will meet at the Crab-orchard the 19th of November in order to start early the next day through the Wilderness. As it is very dangerous on account of the Indians, it is hoped each person will go well armed." Ky. Gazette, Nov. 1, 1788).

3. The following anecdote from the Kentucky Gazette of November 28, 1799, expresses somewhat the feeling of the country: "When Oliver Cromwell first coined his money, an old cavalier, looking on one of the new pieces, read this inscription on one side 'God with us:' on the other side, 'The Commonwealth of England' - 'I see (he said) God and the Commonwealth are on different sides.'"

were the constant rumours that the English forts which garrisoned her territory in the Mississippi valley, were the centres of the Indian depredations - that these garrisons were supplying the Indians with arms, and were even paying them for attacking the frontier settlements of the young Republic. Humphrey Marshall, Kentucky's representative at the federal government, in his History of Kentucky, which he published in 1824, writes:-

"Candour, however, compels an absolution of the government of Great Britain, from the charge of stimulating the savages to a continuance or renewal of the war While it need not be doubted that the traders of Canada, were interested to engross the fur trade, by preventing competition - and for that purpose were equally busy, and successful in keeping alive the angry passions of these ignorant, and vindictive men of the woods; the most certain means of effecting their own objects of traffic."¹

On the other hand, the American people loved France as their ally in the Revolutionary War. To them, Gilbert Motier de Lafayette was their very saviour. On Dec. 31st, 1834, John Quincy Adams - then a member of Congress - in an address, delivered at the request of both Houses of the government of the U.S., before them, thus extravagantly eulogizes him:

"Consider him as one human being of one thousand millions, his contemporaries on the surface of the terraqueous globe. Among that thousand millions, seek for an object of comparison with him; assume for the standard of comparison all the virtues which exalt the character of man above the brute creation; take the ideal man, little lower than the angels; mark the qualities /

1. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. ii, p. 167.

qualities of the mind and heart which entitle him to this station of preeminence in the scale of created beings, and inquire who, that lived in the 18th and 19th centuries of the Christian era, combined in himself so many of those qualities, so little alloyed with those which belong to that earthly vesture of decay in which the immortal spirit is enclosed, as Lafayette."

In no part of the world did the French fever blaze more brightly than in Kentucky. The people sympathised with the French Revolution which followed so quickly on the heels of their own Independence. Attributing to English perfidy in refusing to surrender the western posts, the savage murders, which desolated their frontiers, "they hated that nation with the same fierce fervor with which they loved France."¹ And they considered their federal government as most ungrateful, because it had declared neutrality, and had refused to go to the assistance of their former benefactor, who was now pitted against the armies of the world. They hated the Federal party, because they showed a friendly feeling toward Britain. Democratic societies were organised in America, on the order of the French Jacobine clubs, "to revolutionize the administration of the United States government."² Kentucky was a hot-bed for this sort of feeling. We find in the Gazette of January 30th, 1800, a notice that "On Wednesday last, a considerable number of republican citizens assembled at Thos. Stephenson's spring, on North Elkhorn, in Fayette county, in order to celebrate the recent successes of our allies, the French," etc. and among the many toasts, were the following:-

"1st /

1. Collins, Historical Sketches of Kentucky, p. 47.
2. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol.ii, p. 85.

"1st. Success to the armies of France, and its sister Republics; may they never sheathe their swords, until they have humbled in the dust the leagued tyrants of the North and West.

"2nd. Aristocracy, monarchy and despotism; may they be banished from the face of the earth, and mankind resume their natural rights, under the only rightful governments, republics.

"3rd. Suwarrow, and the Duke of York; may these worthy representatives of their merciless masters, deck the triumph of the sons of Freedom, and be doomed to those chains which they were forging for others.

"4th. Thomas Jefferson, the pride of republicans, and terror of aristocrats; may he be soon raised to the seat, to which his unfortunate country has been too long in elevating him."

The period from 1775 to 1800 was a very critical one in the history of young America. After peace was made with Britain, in 1783, there remained the task of developing a government. The population was scarcely three millions and a half. Each of the thirteen colonies was quite independent of the others. The people were few, and scattered over a wide territory. They had no central government - no national treasury - nothing to unite them but a common tie of patriotism. The war was followed by a period of prostration and disunion. Each colony assumed a state government, and the federal government was instituted. But there was a serious division of opinion as to where the power should rest. The Federalist party was for making a strong central government that should control the country; the Anti-Federalists were opposed /

opposed to this centralization, as undemocratic. Later, they assumed the name of the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson. The national government was fighting for its very existence; it had little energy to spend in aiding and developing the new settlements on the frontier.

However, General Wayne, with a considerable army, was sent west to settle the Indian disturbances; and on August 20, 1793, near the rapids of the Miami river, won such a glorious victory over them, that depredations, in an organized way, were largely stopped. This gave the Kentuckians a better feeling toward the federal government. But the good spirit created by Wayne's victory over the Indians, was ended by the news received in the Spring of 1795, that Jay had concluded a treaty with Great Britain, which, when ratified, would mean the surrender of the Mississippi forts, and bring peace and prosperity to the people of Kentucky. Collins in his History of Kentucky, writes:- "Yet so much more powerful is passion than interest, that the intelligence of this treaty was received with a burst of fury, throughout Kentucky, that knew no bounds. The people regarded it as a base desertion of an ancient friend, struggling with a host of enemies, and a cowardly truckling to England from cold blooded policy, or a secret attachment to aristocratic institutions. Their senator, Marshall, with that firmness of purpose which eminently distinguished him through life, had voted for the conditional ratification of the treaty, against the wishes of a vast majority of his constituents. This determined exercise of his own judgment, exposed him to popular odium, and even personal violence upon his return, from /

from which he made a narrow escape."¹

The national government in October 1795 also concluded a treaty with Spain, which gave the United States the right to navigate the Mississippi river to the ocean, and the right of deposit at New Orleans. This ended another cause of serious dissatisfaction on the part of the Kentuckians. They now had peace with the Indians, the surrender of the British forts, and navigation of the Mississippi River - all by the efforts of the federal government. Their causes for discontent were largely removed, and Kentucky experienced a political peace that she had never known. The natural fertility of the soil, and its abundant resources, brought wealth and satisfaction to the settlers. Population increased at a rapid rate, until we find the Census Report for 1800, records 220,959 people. A constant stream of immigration continued to pour into the country at the rate of more than twenty thousand each year; and in 1810 the census gives Kentucky a population of 406,511.²

Physical prosperity was assured. However, the French influence and love were carried over into the spiritual realm, and Kentucky was due to become the centre of the greatest religious disturbances that America has ever known. By 1800, it was to be again "The Dark and Bloody Ground," where the forces for good and for evil were to meet, and fight for the possession of that fair land.

There were many religious men among the early emigrants. They had come from Virginia and Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. Extensive and powerful revivals had been granted the American churches while they were yet colonies of Great Britain /

1. Collins, Historical Sketches of Kentucky, p. 51, 52.
2. U.S. Census Reports.

Britain. Edwards and his followers had stirred New England. In New Jersey, the work of Gilbert and William Tennant had been greatly blessed. In Virginia, Samuel Davies and James Waddel had been very successful. Georgie had been the beginning of the work of George Whitfield; and from thence to the most northern colony, the "Great Awakening" had been experienced.

But this had ceased. The war had a demoralizing influence. The people had passed through seven years of desolation. 1783 marked the end of a long and desperate conflict. They were free from the rule of Britain. "There was no king in Israel, and every man did what was right in his own eyes." So much had been spoken and written on liberty, that multitudes were unwilling to be regulated by any law. The country was rife with French infidelity. The predominating thought in the colleges of the East, was sceptical. When Theodore Dwight became president of Yale College in 1795, only four or five students were members of the church.

However, many of the settlers brought their old faith with them to Kentucky. When they built the log-cabin, it included the family altar. A few ministers came during the first years of settlement. "Before houses of worship were erected, the worshippers would assemble in the forest, each man with his gun; sentinals would be placed to guard against surprise attacks from the Indians, while the minister, with a log or a stump for his pulpit, and the heavens for his sounding board, would dispense the word of life and salvation.¹" But ministers and Bibles were few. There was less here to counteract the influence of the war. Then, again, peace did not /

1. Collins, Historical Sketches of Kentucky, p. 108.

not come in the West, with the treaty of 1783. Their troubles continued. Religion was largely forgotten. A generation grew up, in which dexterity and prowess in Indian warfare, were the great objects of ambition, and the high road to fame.

Our Revolutionary war closed about the time that this French infidelity was at its height, and before its frightful results had been disclosed. America, and especially Kentucky, was disposed to give the warmest welcome to anything French. It is easy to imagine the effect on the country, when it was proclaimed over the land, that France - enlightened, scientific, fashionable France - had renounced the gospels and burned the Bible in the streets of Paris by the hands of the common hangman, and had inscribed in broad characters over the entrance to the common burying ground, that "death is an eternal sleep."

And it was confidently assured by those who had opportunity to know, that Thomas Jefferson, regarded in the West, as the great political luminary, had rejected the gospel, and adopted the infidelity of France; and that most of our enlightened statesmen were following his example. The name of Jefferson, connected with this movement, was a mighty influence with the western settler.

In the midst of all this, Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" came forth. The works of Voltaire and Volney, translated into English, were circulated among the more cultivated of the western people. But it was the "Age of Reason" that appealed to the popular mind. Had not Tom Paine, himself an Englishman, so loved America and the right, that when they determined to have "liberty or death," he came to their rescue with his presence /

presence and his pen? "He hastened to publish a pamphlet, exhorting them to do what he saw they had already determined to do. This pleased them, and they hailed him as a patriot."¹ He published "Common Sense," which was widely read in America. When the French Revolution broke out, he again rushed to their rescue. He saw that there, one of the strongest passions was a hatred of revealed religion. He published his "Age of Reason." It made no particular impression in France, for they had works of more eminent men. But it was just the book for the backwoods of America. It was written in the dearly beloved France, and by the patriot Paine. It was printed in cheap pamphlet form, and circulated in the Mississippi Valley in immense numbers. "It could be seen in the cabin of the farmer, on the bench of the tailor, in the shops of the smith and the carpenter, on the table of the lawyer, and at the desk of the physician."²

These "Political Deists" throughout the country, argued thus:-

"For many ages the Christian religion, so called, had been incorporated with civil government, and they had mutually supported each other; consequently, when that revolution in politics began, which aimed at the overthrow of monarchy, and the establishment of a republican government, that religion was particularly involved..... Kings, emperors and popes had claimed the Bible as 'the only rule to direct them,' in their unnatural wars, dire oppressions, bloody persecutions, and unparalleled cruelties toward mankind; yea, every class of tyrants, both civil and ecclesiastical, had made their common appeal to the Bible for their authority to lord it over /

1. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 501.

2. Spencer, a History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 501.

over their fellow-creatures; consequently, when the eye of reason began to open upon the rights of man, the tyrant's Canon must appear in very pernicious colours - no book in the universe so mischievous and hateful."¹

Infidelity was fashionable in gay and literary circles. In 1793 the Kentucky legislature voted to dispense with prayers in its Sessions. There were very few men in the more learned professions in the West, who would avow their belief in the truth of Christianity. Educated young men were proud of their scepticism. Tom Paine Clubs flourished. One was organized in Transylvania University, in Lexington, at an early date. The Kentucky Gazette of January 18th, 1803, thus eulogizes Paine:

"There are few men of any age, more deserving the homage of commemoration than the author of Common Sense. This great man is in the political, what the sun is in the physical hemisphere..... His pen, the magic Talisman, by which he has produced these great effects, has caused the tyrants of the world, to tremble on their thrones..... Mr Paine's ideas of civil government and political influence are of the most elevated kind.....

Philosophy, which estimates the actions of men, by the most scrupulous impartiality, will assign an honourable place to Mr Paine, within that constellation of sages, who have equally enlightened and exalted the dignity of human nature Paine will be classed with the Newtons and the Lockes, and like them pass on to immortality."

France had said that human liberty and infidelity were inseparable, and multitudes of her fond admirers in America had /

1. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 9.

had re-echoed the sentiment until it had taken root, from the District of Maine to the farthest log cabin in the great western wilderness. It became a principle in the political philosophy of the country. And while it was not confined to any locality on the American continent, it was more prevalent in the West. It might justly have been said of the American people, as it was said of the English, by Bishop Butler, some sixty years before: "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly treat it as if in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained, but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as if it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world."

The churches in Kentucky, feeble though they were, tried to counteract this "Deism", but the hyper-Calvinism, which was largely taught by both the Baptists and the Presbyterians, the two early religious forces in the west, did not appeal to this spirit of reason and freedom which the people had imbibed; and "the inconsistency of the doctrines of Calvin became the subject of the sarcastic sneers of infidels."¹ Humphrey Marshall, in his History of Kentucky, gives the popular opinion of the religious teachings of the time. He writes:- "It was said that were the doctrine of election, alluded to, correct, it would seem to render all human effort vain, if not impious. For if it were true, that God, had from eternity, selected, and adopted, a certain number of the human race, to be /

1. Finley, Autobiography, p. 369.

be received into heaven, in exclusion of all others, and this with a foreknowledge of all things, the individuals must have been identified, as well as the number determined, in the divine mind, at the same time, and this of necessity; for the mere determination of number, without individualizing the persons, would have effected nothing as to the "free agency" or non agency of man; but both being ascertained, the election was complete, and free agency annihilated. As to his own salvation, and in effect, as to every thing else he can do, as a man, it leaves him a being destitute of free agency; and reduces him to a mere automaton, constrained to a certain course of action, under the pressure of omnipotent power, guarded, and enforced, as the doctrine implies, by a perfect, and infallible foreknowledge of his whole course of life. An inevitable consequence is, to strip man of every motive of action; and of every claim to virtue and its rewards, while he should be exempted from every imputation of vice, and every infliction of crime. A system of ethics which seems to address itself to men's credulity, while it offers a complete dispensation from all their duties, as it robs them of every motive of virtue. A doctrine too enormous for practice - and too absurd for rational belief, when divested of the fascinations of religion. In fact, it can neither obtain belief, or practice without such expositions, and ameliorations, as go to the denial, and subversion, of its original principles. This might show its inadmissibility, as an article of belief."¹

1. Marshall, The History of Kentucky, vol. ii, p. 450.



Distribution of Population in United States in 1800

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY LIFE OF BARTON W. STONE.

Such were the material developments of Kentucky, and the mental attitude of its settlers, when in 1796 Barton Warren Stone, a young Presbyterian minister - a licentiate of the Orange Presbytery of North Carolina - arrived there on his first missionary preaching tour.

Of his early life, we have only the story which he gives in his "Autobiography," written when he was more than seventy years of age. He was born near Port Tobacco, Maryland, December 24th, 1772. Of his father, he had no recollection, for he had died when Barton was very young. His mother, whose maiden name was Mary Warren, had in 1779, during the Revolutionary War, with her large family of children and servants, moved to "the then back-woods of Virginia, Pittsylvania county, near Dan river, about eighty miles below the Blue Mountain."¹ Stone pictures the people of this community as a kindly, contented folk, whose time was chiefly engrossed in providing the means of livelihood; but who were never too busy or too poor to help their neighbours, or to share with them from their simple home stores. And though always ready with a helping hand for the deserving immigrant - and all were considered deserving, until proved otherwise - they were, in true pioneer fashion, equally severe with the wrong-doer. Because of the distance from courts of justice, the neighbourhoods selected their best men as "vigilante committees", who frequently executed Lynch's law on offenders. But /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 1.

But, generally speaking, friendship and good feeling universally reigned. Simple sports of various sorts were engaged in by all the neighbourhood; and religion was attended to but by a few. Barton Stone's mother was a member of the Church of England, and even their "parson himself mingled in all the sports and pastimes of the people, and was what may be termed a man of pleasure."¹

Stone was but a child during the days of the Revolutionary war, but he long remembered the fear and excitement in his home, on the day of the famous battle of Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina, where General Cornwallis surrendered to General Green. Although their home was thirty miles distant, they could hear the roar of the artillery, and were in terrible suspense until they knew the result of the encounter. There had been scenes of grief in his own family as his older brothers had shouldered their "firelocks" and left their widowed mother to join the army. The whole country was in anxiety and danger. Barton, ^{and} ~~with~~ his two brothers just older, ^{were} ~~was~~ often sent by their mother, to hide the horses in a thicket near their home, to prevent them being taken by scouting parties of tories, or bands of thieves, who ^{were} ~~are~~ always ready to take advantage of times of confusion.

Religious instruction and worship largely ceased during the war. The country was aflame with patriotism. The Church of England was almost solidly Tory; ~~the~~ other churches, and especially the Presbyterian, were constantly working and agitating for freedom. Dr. Inglis, the Tory rector of Trinity Church, wrote in 1776: "I do not know one Presbyterian minister, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 2.

to hear of any, who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of the Continental Congress, however extravagant."¹ The ministers left their churches, and went out to fight for freedom; and their sermons, when preaching, were no longer doctrinal, but patriotic. Church buildings were destroyed by the opposing forces, or were used as stables in which to quarter their horses, or quarters for the soldiers themselves, - the Patriot armies using the Tory churches, and visa versa.

After peace came, many of the ministers of the Church of England returned to their former homes, for their cause had become an unpopular one. And, although this had been the established church in Virginia, the civil-ecclesiastical connection was largely broken, with the coming of liberty; the salaries were temporarily stopped and voluntary maintenance was necessary. The Episcopal church suffered much through the severing of the ties with Great Britain. Stone tells us: "As soon as liberty from the yoke of Britain was achieved, the priest's salaries were abolished, and our parsons generally left us, and many returned to England Wickedness abounded, the Lord's day was converted into a day of pleasure, and the house of worship deserted."²

A few Baptist preachers preached in the neighbourhood of Barton Stone's home, and acquired many followers. In those days, immersion was so rare, that many came from long distances to see the ordinance administered; large audiences attended their preaching, and many were immersed as members of the Baptist church. Barton Stone attended constantly. He was particularly interested in hearing the converts tell of /

1. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the U.S. p. 57.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 4.

of their religious experiences. He says of them: "Of their conviction and great distress for sin, they were very particular in giving an account, and how and when they obtained deliverance from their burdens. Some were delivered by a dream, a vision, or some uncommon appearance of light - some by a voice spoken to them, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee' - and others by seeing the Saviour with their natural eyes. Such experiences were considered good by the church, and the subjects of them were received for baptism, and into full fellowship."¹ However, the ministrations of these men accomplished much good in the reformation of the society of the country about.

Stone was very much impressed by these meetings, his first real religious interest. He considered this to be the work of God, and the way of salvation.

But soon, some Methodist preachers came to the community. The Methodists had but recently begun their existence as an independent body in America, having broken away from the Church of England after the Revolutionary War. Their ministers were very grave, holy and humble; "their very presence checked levity in all around them." They were zealous and enthusiastic in their preaching, which "was often electric on the congregation, and fixed their attention." But the Baptists and the Episcopalians opposed them bitterly. "The Baptists represented them as denying the doctrines of grace, and of preaching salvation by works. They publicly declared them to be the locusts of the Apocalypse, and warned the people against receiving them. Poor Methodists! They were then but few, reproached, misrepresented, and persecuted as unfit /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 5.

unfit to live on the earth."¹ Barton Stone was much interested in these controversies; he was undecided between the two parties; he was torn between the doctrines preached. He would retire in secret and pray that he might "get religion," as the phraseology of the times, stated it. Finally, becoming discouraged with the conflicting opinions, and not knowing what he should do, he gave up all of his religious hopes. He determined to acquire a liberal education, and qualify for a barrister. His mother and brothers were pleased with the idea, and promised to aid him in every way possible.

Stone had received his early education in the schools of the neighbourhood, and, in the subjects taught there, had been pronounced by his teacher, a finished scholar. In fact, among his own people, he was considered quite a prodigy of learning. This praise which was given him, and his natural love of letters, determined him to continue his studies and "rise to eminence."

Having thus decided on a career for himself, in February, 1790, at the age of eighteen, he entered Guilford Academy, which was conducted by the Rev. David Caldwell, a Presbyterian minister. He said that he was determined to secure an education, or die in the attempt. Accordingly he denied himself both food and sleep, that he might conserve his funds and his time; by such close application to study, he passed several classes and came up with one of his own stride, and in this class continued through the whole of the academic course.

Dr. Caldwell's School at Guilford, was the second classical school of permanence, and, perhaps, the first in usefulness in the upper part of Carolina.² Being a thorough scholar /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 5.

2. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 235.

scholar himself - he received the Bachelor of Arts from Princeton College, in the year 1761, when 36 years of age - and having a peculiar tact for the management of boys, as well as the unusual talent of communicating instruction, he soon became so celebrated as a teacher that he had students from all the States south of the Potamac, "and was instrumental in bringing more men into the learned professions than any other man of his day, at least in the southern states."¹ Five of his students became Governors of States; a number were promoted to the bench; about fifty became ministers of the gospel; and many others were physicians, lawyers, etc. And, of those who became eminent, the most of them received their entire classical education from him, and the ministers, in addition, their theological training; so that, for a time, his school was academy, college, and theological seminary.² His biographer, Eli Caruthers, says: "Such was his reputation, if the survivors of that period may be credited, that it was considered throughout the South, a sufficient recommendation or passport for any man to have passed through the course at his school, with the approbation of the teacher."³ This seems not to be an exaggeration, for when the University of North Carolina went into operation, he declined being considered a candidate for the Presidency; and, as a mark of their respect for his usefulness, the trustees conferred upon him the degree of D.D., at a time when the influences, there, were not the most friendly to religion.⁴

The school was conducted in his own home, a two-story log house with a chimney in the centre. "This building was located three miles from the present Courthouse in Greensboro, and about a quarter-mile north from the present northern Guilford /

1. Caruthers, Life of Caldwell, p. 31.
2. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina. p. 235.
3. Caruthers, Life of Caldwell, p. 31.
4. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 242.

Guilford College Road."¹

Along with his other work, Dr. Caldwell ministered to two Presbyterian churches; one at Buffalo consisting of people of the "Old Side", the other at Alamance representing the "New Light" or "New Side" Presbyterians.² This situation, at least, showed that he must have been a man of great tact and wisdom, and not affected by petty, party spirit.

David Caldwell was one of the first Presbyterian ministers to settle in North Carolina, and his name is identified with the history of that church, more perhaps than any other name in the state.³

Rachael Craighead Caldwell, his wife, was the daughter of Alexander Craighead, the Presbyterian minister at Sugar Creek, and the sister of the Rev. Thomas Craighead,⁴ who very early settled in Kentucky, and gave to Barton Stone the theological bent that changed his entire life. She often remarked that her ancestors on the paternal side, had all been preachers in a direct line, as far back as she had any knowledge of them. Her influence over the students was very great, and all in favour of religion. The current saying through the country was "Dr. Caldwell makes the scholars, and Mrs Caldwell the ministers."⁵

This time spent with the Caldwells, proved to be the formative period in the life of Barton Warren Stone, and from these influences, directly and indirectly, the next thirty years /

1. Ware, A History of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina, p. 28.
2. These parties were both orthodox in their creeds, but had divided on methods - lined up as for and against the revivals conducted by Whitfield. This division is not to be confused with the parties that develop in the Presbyterian Church, some years later, under the names "Old School" and "New School."
3. Caruthers, Life of Caldwell, p. 97.
4. Caruthers, Life of Caldwell, p. 28.
5. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 235.

years was to be controlled.

At the time that Stone entered Dr. Caldwell's Academy, there had been, and then was, a great religious excitement in the neighbourhood. James McGready, a young Presbyterian preacher, not yet thirty¹ years of age, and a "home-boy" had caught the attention of the people. He was of Scotch-Irish parentage, born in Pennsylvania; but when he was quite young, his family had moved to Carolina, settling in the Buffaloe congregation, about the time that Dr. David Caldwell became pastor of that church. Here James McGready passed his boyhood days, engaged much in the same occupations as other people of rather poor circumstances. However, the natural piety of the boy attracted the attention of those around him; an uncle, impressed with his possibilities, sent him to Pennsylvania to study for the ministry. Mr McGready used to say that, from seven years up, he had never neglected his private devotions, and that he had never committed the sins of the other boys around him; he finally, began "to think that he was sanctified from his birth."² At seventeen, he had united with the Presbyterian church, having been instructed in the Bible and the doctrines of the Catechism. Thus fully satisfied with his own religion, and rather proud of his piety, he was surprised one day, to overhear the gentleman with whom he boarded while in college, express the opinion that he had "not a spark" of religion. At first he was very angry, and determined to change his living quarters. However, on thinking the matter through, he decided that he had never had a "religious experience"; and he was terribly convicted of having sinned in communing improperly. He had loved what the /

1. McGready was born in 1763. (Davidson p. 133.)

2. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 369.

the Scripture required, and had given up those things that God forbade. But he could not say that he knew experimentally the meaning of such passages as "filled with the spirit; filled with the Holy Spirit; joy of the Spirit; etc."¹ He suffered great agonies of soul, and had not rest until "his heart tasted some of the joys of the Holy Ghost."² This experience influenced all the preaching of his life, and he became famous for pointing out the "hiding places of the hypocrite and self-deceived," and for convincing church members, often of long standing and much usefulness, that they never had been converted.

After McGready had finished his studies with Dr. McMillan,³ and had been licensed by the Redstone Presbytery, he returned to Guilford in 1789, the year before Barton Stone came there to study law. Among the customs of the neighbourhood, was that of distributing spirituous liquors at funerals. Provisions were usually set out before the door, and passed around in baskets, and spirits were offered freely to all who cared to partake. At times, some would imbibe too freely, and the solemn occasion would be turned into one of considerable excitement. Generally, with the wish to keep a religious atmosphere at the funeral, some officer in the church, was asked to say a blessing on the refreshments prepared. James McGready attended a neighbourhood funeral soon after his return to Guilford, and as a recognition of the young minister just returned, he was asked to do the honours. Indignantly he refused, and told them then and there, his opinion of such church members. This caused a great sensation in the community /

1. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 369.

2. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 369.

3. "Dr. McMillan was the founder of the Literary & Theological School, that ultimately grew into Canonaleg College, the first institution of the kind west of the Alleghanies." Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 370.

community, and attracted the attention of the people to him. He began preaching among his old neighbours. "Under his ministrations very many gave up their hopes of salvation which they had been cherishing, and confessed themselves deceived hypocrites." He would often in his uncouth manner say to them, 'An unworthy communicant in such circumstances as yours, is more offensive to Almighty God than a loathsome carcase crawling with vermin set before a dainty prince.'¹ While he attracted large audiences, he also made many enemies among the people; the "formal professors" had a great dislike for him, and accused him of undue personality in the statements made from the safety of the pulpit.

James McGready often visited the congregations of Dr. Caldwell at Buffaloe and Alamance, and was quite a favorite of the students at the Academy. The influence of this "Son of Thunder", as he was called, was strong in the school, when Barton Stone arrived in February, 1790. It was the custom of the more pious of the students to assemble each morning for singing and prayers. Stone was impressed with their lives, and began to feel an uneasiness in his own mind. He did not want religion to interfere with his life plans. He seriously considered leaving the Academy for Hampden Sydney College, in Virginia, that he might get away from the constant sight of religion. He decided to start the next day, but was prevented by stormy weather. Then he determined to put all his thoughts and energies on his work, taking no notice of any one else or their interests. He afterward said, that from this experience, he learned that the "most effectual way to conquer the depraved heart, is, the constant exhibition /

1. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 372.

exhibition of piety and a godly life in the professors of religion."¹

But one day his room-mate - a pious young Virginian - politely invited Stone to accompany him to a service in the neighbourhood. He accepted the invitation and upon their arrival at the appointed place, they found a large crowd assembled. When the preacher arrived, he was James McGready, whom Barton Stone had never seen. He writes of this experience: "He rose and looked around on the assembly. His person was not prepossessing, nor his appearance interesting, except his remarkable gravity, and small piercing eyes. His coarse tremulous voice excited in me the idea of something unearthly. His gestures were sui generis, the perfect reverse of elegance. Everything appeared by him forgotten, but the salvation of souls. Such earnestness - such zeal - such powerful persuasion, enforced by the joys of heaven and the miseries of hell, I had never witnessed before. My mind was chained by him, and followed him closely in his rounds of heaven, earth and hell, with feelings indescribable. His concluding remarks were addressed to the sinner to flee the wrath to come without delay. Such was my excitement, that had I been standing, I should have probably sunk to the floor under the impression."²

McGready's style of service was the sort that would be very effective with the audience he found in North Carolina. He excelled in public prayer, and, often, during the long prayer before the sermon, he would so earnestly wrestle with God for the people present, that they would be brought to tears. His sermons although often crude in statement were very /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 7.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 8.

very pointed, and given to vivid pictures; as he progressed he would become more animated in his delivery - an animation which made the people live through the scenes he described. The following extracts from his sermon, "The Consequences of Sin," will give us an idea of the scenes pictured to these students from the Academy. Describing the "torments of hell," he says: "We shall suppose that all the pains and torments that were ever endured, by all the human bodies which ever existed upon the earth, were inflicted on one person; add to this ten thousand times the horror endured by Spira, yet all this would not bear the same comparison to the torments of the damned in hell, that the scratch of a pin will do to a sword run through a man's vitals When they have spent ten thousand times ten thousand ages sinking in bottomless hell, their torments will be but begun. "Suppose a small bird, at the end of every century, were to take from our globe a particle of dust, until the whole were carried off, and then the damned were to be released from the torments of hell; this would afford some relief; but the pains of hell shall never end."¹

After the service was over, Stone returned with the other boys, and went to his own room. His soul was deeply troubled. That /

1. McGready Works, vol. i, p. 63. James McGready seems to have been much influenced by Jonathan Edwards. Compare the above extract with the following from "Eternity of Hell Torments," Vol. 7, p. 419 in Works of President Edwards. -

"When after you shall have worn out the age of the sun, moon and stars, in your dolorous groans and lamentations, without rest day or night, or one minute's ease, yet you have no hope of ever being delivered; when after you have worn out a thousand more such ages, yet you shall have no hope, but shall know that you are not one whit nearer to the end of your torments; but that still there are the same groans, the same shrieks, the same doleful cries, incessantly to be made by you, and that the smoke of your torment shall still ascend up for ever and ever; and that your souls, which shall have been agitated with the wrath of God all this while, yet will still exist to bear more wrath; your bodies which shall have been burning and roasting all this while in these glowing flames, yet shall not have been consumed, but will remain to roast through an eternity yet, which will not have been at all shortened by what shall have been past."

That night he walked out into an old field, and there, reasoned with himself on the questions of religion. Should he embrace religion? He would incur the displeasure of his relatives, become the object of ridicule among certain of his friends, and be compelled to give up his schemes for worldly honor and preferment. He could not find himself willing to make the sacrifice. But neither did he wish to be damned - to be banished from God forever, and endure the Hell pictured by McGready. After long consideration, he determined "to seek religion" at the sacrifice of every selfish desire. He tells us that "according to the preaching and the experience of the pious in those days" he expected a long and painful struggle before he would be prepared to come to Christ, or, as they then expressed it, "get religion." And, so, for one year, he laboured and prayed, and at times, despaired that he would ever get it. "The doctrines then publicly taught were, that mankind were so totally depraved, that they could not believe, repent, nor obey the gospel¹ - that regeneration was an /

1. James McGready thus declared the helplessness of the sinners: "You may beat a dead man; you may cut his flesh from his bones, but he will not feel it; it will afflict him no more than it would a rock. Just so it is with the unconverted sinner; he is destitute of spiritual sensation; and his heart is as hard as the nether millstone.....In a word, could you uncover the bottomless pit of hell; could you show them the fiery billows of God's wrath, rolling in impetuous floods and falling in eternal storms; display to them the shrieks, groans and yells of devils, and damned ghosts sinking beneath the fury of God; and alas! they sleep on. All these dreadful realities affect them no more than the whistling of the wind, or the rattling of a drum. As Rutherford says, 'Were Dives to come up from the infernal gulf, flaming and blazing with the fire of hell; were he to show to sinners the marks and scars he had received from the lashes of the devil's scorpions; - yea, were he to bring up the red coals of God's wrath, as large as mountains, yet all this would not move or awaken one soul, unless the mighty power of God were exerted.' Indeed, could a rueful ghost come reeking out of hell, with the fire visible upon him, the stench of brimstone about him, and exhibit the flames in his bosom, and then with all the anguish which becomes his state, and /

an immediate work of the Spirit, whereby faith and repentance were wrought in the heart."¹

In February, 1791, just one year after he had entered Guilford Academy, Barton Stone, with many of his fellow students, attended a meeting on Sandy River, in Virginia, conducted by President Smith of Hampden Sydney College. Cairy Allen, James Blythe, Robert Marshall and James McGready were there - all Presbyterian preachers. On Sunday, President Smith preached from this text: "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Stone felt that his own condition was described, and when all of this character were urged to "approach the Lord's table," he partook, for the first time, of the Lord's Supper. But in the evening, James McGready thundered forth with these words: "Tekel, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." Stone says: "He went through all the legal works of the sinner - all the hiding places of the hypocrite - all the resting places of the deceived - he drew the character of the regenerated in the deepest colours, and thundered divine /

and with all the earnestness to which a sense of the pains of hell can raise him, let him tell all his wretched experience, and, if possible, speak all he felt; let him bewail himself in their presence, tearing his hair and gnashing his teeth; let him weep and wail and beseech them in tears and passion; and when he has ended his amazing mission, as he descends into the divided earth, let them view the flames of the pit flashing through the dreadful chasm, yet all this would not cause one sinner to repent."

From "Parable of the Dry Bones," McGready's Sermons, vol. i. pp. 70, 71.

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 9.

divine anathemas against every other. Before he closed his discourse, I had lost all hope, all feeling, and had sunk into an indescribable apathy."¹ After the service, McGready inquired of him the state of his soul, and when told, laboured to arouse him by "the terrors of God, and the horrors of hell." In this gloomy state, Barton Stone left the meeting, and remained for weeks afterward.

His mother hearing of his mental condition, sent for him to come home, for he was only, at this time, a youth of nineteen. His altered appearance alarmed his relatives. In private, he told his mother the whole story; they talked and wept together, but only with the result that his mother took a renewed interest in religion and united with the Methodist church.

After a few days in Virginia, Barton Stone returned to the Academy, in much the same state of mind as when he left. Soon after, Wm. Hodge, a young Presbyterian preacher, whom Stone had not before heard, preached at Alamance. He addressed the people from the text: "God is love." With animation and tears, he told of what the love of God had done for sinners. Stone's heart warmed toward this God he heard described. This was a new doctrine, and one that appealed to him. But the old warning, "Take heed lest you be deceived," would come to his mind, and he would reason, "This cannot be the mighty work of the spirit, which you must experience - that instantaneous work of Almighty power, which, like an electric shock, is to renew the soul and bring it to Christ."² After the sermon was finished, he retired to the woods alone with his Bible, and prayed with varying feelings of hope and fear. But the truth /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 10.

2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 11.

truth he had just heard, "God is love," was uppermost. "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." He now reasoned that "A poor sinner was as much authorized to believe in Jesus at first, as at last - that now was the accepted time, and day of salvation."¹

From that time, until the end of his academic course, his studies seemed less tedious, for he did his work "for the glory of God," to whom he had dedicated his all. But his funds were about gone; he could not buy himself decent clothes or pay the necessary expenses of his school work. However, Dr. Caldwell, as he often did with his boys, urged him to finish his studies with no worry concerning the small tuitions that were due the school. When Stone had finished his course he told Dr. Caldwell that he desired, more than anything else, to preach the gospel, but that he had received no assurance that he had been called of God. His teacher told him that he need expect no miracle to convince him of his duty; but, that if he had a desire to work for the salvation of the world, through preaching, and if the fathers in the ministry thought him qualified, he should not hesitate. Whereupon, Dr. Caldwell gave him a text and told him to write a sermon from it, to be presented to the next Presbytery, when he could make application for the ministry. By this immediate action, Stone was put six months ahead of the regular proceedings.

And so, in 1793, with several of his fellow students, Barton Stone became a candidate for the ministry under the jurisdiction /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 11.

jurisdiction of the Orange Presbytery.¹ Samuel Holmes (afterward President of the North Carolina University) and Barton Stone, were assigned to study under William Hodge - the same minister whose preaching had won Stone's heart. The Presbytery had assigned them, as subjects of study and trial, the Being and Attributes of God, and the Trinity, with papers to write on these subjects. Witsius on the Trinity was given them as a text book. Stone was but twenty-one years of age, and had never given any thought to speculative divinity. He had read his Bible, and had been busy with his studies at school. The doctrine of the Trinity had been mentioned by various ministers, during their discourses, but he had never heard a discussion of the subject, and did not even know of the various theological differences. He says: "Witsius would first prove that there was but one God, and then that there were three persons in this one God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost - that the Father was unbegotten - the Son eternally begotten, and the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son - that it was idolatry to worship more Gods than one, and yet equal worship must be given to the father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. He wound all up in incomprehensible mystery."² Stone was terribly confused by all this reasoning, and considered giving up the study of theology. He /

1. Orange Presbytery was the oldest in that part of the country. It originally, when under the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, included this whole section of the country, which was made into the Synod of the Carolinas, when the General Assembly was constituted, in 1788. The Orange Presbytery was then divided into three Presbyteries - that of Orange, South Carolina, and Abington - these three forming the Synod of the Carolinas. "These three Presbyteries occupied a territory in which, forty years previous, there was to be found but a single Presbyterian minister." (Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. pp. 355, 356).
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 13.

He told his troubles to Samuel Holmes, and found that he, too, was having the same doubts. They laid Witsius aside, "as unprofitable as well as unintelligible," and tending only to involve their minds "in mystic darkness." They heard that Dr. Watts had written a book on the subject. They obtained his "Glory of Christ."¹ This was easier for them to understand, and they accepted his views² on the subject.

The next session of Orange Presbytery came on. Stone and Holmes, with many other candidates were present. Henry Patillo - "old father Patillo", as he was affectionately called - was one of the leading members of Orange Presbytery, and a distinguished man in the state, having been a member of the first Provincial Congress, in 1775.³ This venerable old Scotsman was one of the first ministers in that country, and was universally loved and admired. He had founded the church /

1. Stone Letters to Blythe, p. 157.

2. In Dr. Watts' last letter to Dr. Colman, dated Feb. 11, 1747, he said, "I am glad my book of Useful Questions came safe to your hand. I think I have said every thing concerning the Son of God, which Scripture says: but I could not go so far as to say with some of our orthodox divines, that the Son is equal with the Father; because our Lord himself expressly says, 'My Father is greater than I.' His biographer states of his positions:

"From these extracts from Dr. Watts' own writings, it is plain to every intelligent reader, what his sentiments concerning the Deity of Jesus were. It is evident that he did not give in to Arianism, which makes Christ to be another and inferior God, distinct from the supreme, nor into Socinianism, which denies the pre-existence of the Son of God. At the same time it is equally evident, that he had departed from what are generally called orthodox sentiments; or rather, perhaps it should be said, from the common manner of explaining them; by which however, he himself at least thought he maintained genuine orthodoxy to the best advantage." (Life of Watts, p. 103.)

3. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 240.

church at Alamance in 1762.¹ But he was liberal among the Presbyterians of that day; he had practiced open communion,² and had been censured for it. "He, too, held Watts' views on the Trinity;"³ and had published it in his book.⁴ Apart from Witsius, Barton Stone had, at this time, read on the subject of Trinity, only the books of Dr. Watts and Henry Patillo; he did not then think that "the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul of Christ" was contrary to any article of the Confession of Faith; and he did not know Presbytery disapproved of Patillo's teaching, or considered him as having departed from the confession, in believing this doctrine.⁶ He supposed Patillo orthodox on the doctrine of Trinity;⁷ The Confession taught that "the second person of Trinity took to himself a true body and a reasonable soul," and nowhere stated that that "soul did not pre-exist."⁸

Patillo, as one of the leading members of Presbytery, was appointed to examine the candidates on theology. On the subject of Trinity, his questions were very short, and involved none of the controverted points in the system. The answers were /

1. Ware, A History of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina. p. 28.
2. "It is little wonder to find professors of the presbyterian system, so grossly ignorant of the great decrees, recommend communion with methodists and baptists, which is the next error tolerated by the body, and countenanced by many members. This is publicly recommended by Mr Patillo, the Transylvania Presbytery and others." (Adam Rankin, A Process in the Transylvania Presbytery, p. 65).
3. Stone, Autobiography, p. 13.
4. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 157.
5. In 1787, Mr Patillo issued from the press at Wilmington a volume of sermons, among which was his sermon on "Divisions among Christians."
6. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 157.
7. Adam Rankin, Pastor of Presbyterian Church in Lexington, Kentucky, thus condemns his views:-
But again, one of themselves (meaning Mr Patillo) in a publication known to the principal part of them, maintains that Christ was not the eternal son of God. And to this the Transylvania Presbytery accorded.
(Adam Rankin, A Process in the Transylvania Presbytery, p. 61).
8. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 157.

were honest, and accepted as proper. He evidently had no wish to start a debate and bad feeling among the members of Presbytery.

Before the next session of Presbytery, when Stone was to be licensed to preach, because of financial shortage and theological uncertainties, he decided to give up the ministry entirely. He had been reading much along the lines of Calvinistic systematic divinity, and believed many "abstruse doctrines" which he could not satisfactorily reconcile with others which he thought the Bible taught. He decided to take up some other calling as his life work.

Having a brother, Matthew Stone, living in Oglethorpe county, Georgia, he journeyed to that country, and through his brother's influence, secured a position as professor of languages in a Methodist academy near Washington; this school had recently been established by a Mr Hope Hull, a leading minister of that denomination. The school opened in 1795. Men of letters were rare in that community, and Barton Stone was much admired and socially recognized. While there, he attended the Presbyterian church ministered to by Rev. Springer, a very zealous man, whose influence was to bring back the longing for the ministry. But he was also constantly associated with the Methodist ministers; and in the winter of 1795, went with a number of them, to the general conference of the Methodist church, which was held at Charleston, South Carolina."¹

By the spring of 1796, Barton Stone had again fully determined that he would devote his life to the Presbyterian ministry. He now had enough money to pay his debts, and considered /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 15.

considered himself to be more settled as to his theological difficulties. Accordingly, he resigned his position at the Academy, and returned home. He was warmly received by Presbytery, when he made known his desire to become a licentiate of that body. At the next session, with several other young men, he received his license.¹ Father Patillo addressed the candidates. As a moderate and liberal Calvinist, he taught that love was more important than orthodoxy. After the address "he presented to each of the candidates the Bible (not the confession of faith,) with this solemn charge, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'²" After visiting his mother, who had moved to Virginia, Stone filled the preaching engagements made for him by Presbytery.

In May, 1796, he started for the West, as Tennessee and Kentucky were then called. He travelled to Knoxville, and on through the "wilderness" to Nashville,³ which, at that time, was still a village. This was then a perilous journey, always undertaken in parties, and with constant fear of, and surprises by the Indians. However, Stone reached the Cumberland country - western Tennessee - in safety, and was delighted to find there, two of his old schoolmates - William McGee and John Anderson - who had lately moved from North Carolina.

Anderson /

1. The following extract from the minutes of the Orange Presbytery, are quoted in Cleland's "Vindication" of 1822:
 "Hawfield's Church, April 6, 1796.
 "Messrs. Barton Stone, Robert Foster, and Robert Tate, having gone through the trials assigned them by Presbytery, with approbation, and having adopted the Confession of Faith of this Church, and satisfactorily answered the questions appointed to be put to candidates to be licensed, the Presbytery did license them to preach the gospel of Christ, as probationers for the holy ministry, within the bounds of this Presbytery, or wherever they shall be orderly called."
 (Cleland "Vindication" p. 171).
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 16.
3. The Census of 1800 gives Nashville a population of 355, of which number 141 were slaves. (Cleveland, p. 5 - Quoting U.S. Census Report).

Anderson agreed to travel and preach with Stone, through all the settlements of the Cumberland. This did not take a long time, for the people, few as they were, lived within a short radius of Nashville.. These young men had varied experiences, on this missionary tour, all of which tended to better fit them for their future life in the ministry, and as leaders in the church. Having preached through Western Tennessee, they determined to go together to Kentucky. Their last appointment was in "father Craighead's congregation"¹ which seems to have been their headquarters while in that part of the country. It is to be remembered that Thomas Craighead was a brother of Mrs Caldwell, the wife of Barton Stone's teacher. We could not assume that Stone knew him personally, since Craighead had left North Carolina for Kentucky in 1786, four years before Stone entered Guilford Academy. However, it is very probable that through the Caldwells, he had felt drawn to Thomas Craighead, and had gone directly to him as his nearest personal tie in the West. There seems to have been no other particular attraction in the Cumberland district, for he expressed his surprise at finding McGee and Anderson there. Later history shows that Stone became a close friend of Thomas Craighead, and often went back there to visit him.

Leaving the Cumberland, Anderson and Stone travelled north, across miles of uninhabited prairies, until they reached the settlements in upper Kentucky. Here they found another friend, a former member of the Orange Presbytery of North Carolina - James Blythe. They were entertained in his home, and introduced by him to the Presbyterian circles in that part of Kentucky.² They preached in the various congregations until /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 24.

2. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 154.

until winter began. Anderson was asked to take charge, temporarily, of the church at Ashridge, near Lexington, and Stone of the congregations at Cane Ridge and Concord, in Bourbon county - these churches having been left vacant on the suspension of Rev. Robert Finley.¹

Barton Stone was successful in his ministry with these two churches, and the people became very much attached to him, as he did to them. During these months of "supply", fifty new members were added to the Concord congregation, and thirty to that at Cane Ridge.²

Shortly before this, the Presbyterians in Kentucky, who had been largely instrumental in securing a large grant of land, and founding "Transylvania Seminary," had become discouraged with the trend of affairs there. In 1788 the school had been moved to Lexington, and had become so influenced by the sceptical spirit, that the Presbyterian teacher, Mr James Moore, had been ejected by the Trustees, and Harry Toulmin, a Baptist whose tendencies were very liberal, if not deistical, was placed at its head. Whereupon the Presbytery of Transylvania decided to establish another School,³ entirely under their control; and in October 1794, having secured a grant of land from the state, appointed David Rice and James Blythe to have /

1. The Rev. Robert Finley came to Cane Ridge and Concord as pastor in the Spring of 1790 (Finley, Autobiography, p. 40) The Cane Ridge meeting house was built during his pastorate. (Finley, Autobiography, p. 364). After a long series of trials before the Transylvania Presbytery, he was "deposed from the whole exercise of the ministerial office." (Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, Oct. 9, 1795). Robert Finley then left Kentucky and settled in Ohio. His son, James B. Finley, became one of the greatest of the early Methodist preachers of America.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 25.
3. They founded their school under the title of "The Kentucky Academy" but in 1798, after Toulmin resigned to become Secretary of State, on a joint petition of the two boards, the Legislature amalgamated "Transylvania Seminary" and "Kentucky Academy," with their respective funds in one institution, under the title of "The Transylvania University."

have charge of soliciting money from the Atlantic States.¹ Evidently through his acquaintance and early friendship with James Blythe, Barton Stone was sent East on this same mission, for he says: "By the Transylvania Presbytery, I was solicited and appointed to visit Charleston, in South Carolina, and endeavour to obtain money for the purpose of establishing a college in our infant state."² It was while on this mission that he came in touch with slavery in its more objectionable forms, and from this time on, determined to have nothing to do with the traffic in human beings.

At the Stated Spring Meeting of the Transylvania Presbytery, held in the New Providence Church on Tuesday, April 10th, 1798, Barton Stone, as a probationer from the Orange Presbytery of North Carolina, upon producing his regular dismissal and recommendation from that body, was received under the care of the Transylvania Presbytery, and was presented with a call from the united congregations of Cane Ridge and Concord.³ He accepted the call, and on April 13th, it was resolved that he should be ordained at the next session of Presbytery, which was due to sit at Cane Run in October. As a subject of trial, he was to prepare a sermon from the following text: "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." (Rom. 8: 15).

Once more, theological doubts began to arise. He knew that, at his ordination, he would be required to accept the Confession of Faith, as the system of doctrines taught in the Bible. He examined and re-examined the book, to see if he could /

1. Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, Oct. 10, 1794.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 26.
3. Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, April 10, 1798.

could honestly accept its teachings. He could not conscientiously subscribe to the doctrine of the Trinity as he now knew it to be taught by the church. He also doubted the doctrines of election, reprobation, and predestination. Regarding these as mysteries, he had left them alone in his sermons, and had preached on subjects of practical christianity. But he was still worried over these theological speculations when the day for his ordination arrived. He determined to make known his doubts, and ask Presbytery to postpone his ordination until he could be better informed on these subjects. Before the Presbytery was constituted, he took aside James Blythe and Robert Marshall, two of its leading members, and told them of his difficulties, and that he had determined not to be ordained at that session. These two ministers talked with him for a long time, and tried to convince him that the teachings of the Confession were correct. But to no avail. They then asked, how far he was willing to accept the Confession; Stone replied that just in so far as it was consistent with the word of God. These Presbytery leaders decided that was sufficient.

The Presbytery was opened on October 2nd, 1798, by the sermon delivered by Barton Stone, which sermon was sustained as part of trial. A committee, appointed to examine him in the languages, church history and church government, reported, the next day, that they were satisfied with the examination. October 4th was set as the date of his ordination to the ministry of the Presbyterian church.¹

On that day, Rev. James Blythe preached the ordination sermon, from the text: "But none of these things move me, neither /

1. Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery.

neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." (Acts 20: 24). Robert Marshall had been appointed to preside at the business session. He recited the steps that had already been taken, and proposed the questions to be put to candidates previous to their ordination. When the question was proposed to Stone, "Do you receive and adopt the Confession of Faith, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Bible?", he answered aloud, so that all might hear, "I do, as far as I see it consistent with the word of God."¹ No objection was made to this answer. The congregation, by holding up their right hands, answered in the affirmative, the questions put to them. The presiding bishop did "by prayer and with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, according to the apostolic example, solemnly ordain and set apart the said Barton Stone to the sacred office of the gospel ministry."² After the presiding minister had given a solemn charge to the newly ordained bishop and to the people, Stone was invited to take a seat in Presbytery. He was now, at the age of twenty-six, Pastor of the churches at Concord and Cane Ridge, a member of the Transylvania Presbytery, and an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America.

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 30.

2. Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, Oct. 4, 1798.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN KENTUCKY IN 1800.

I. PRESBYTERIANS.

Although the Presbyterian Church had been a great influence in the religious life of America, at no time did its prospects seem brighter, than at the close of the eighteenth century. Had it been able to hold that position among the churches, and to keep within its membership the children of the ever-growing Ulster immigration, it would to-day rank, not as the third, but as the first, of the great Protestant peoples of America.

In the older settlements, at the time the emigration westward began, the leading religious communions were the Congregationalists in New England, the Presbyterians in the middle group of states, and the Episcopalians in the south. It is true that the Catholics were in Maryland, but they had not yet built up a strong church, numbering in 1790, only thirty-five priests.¹ The Baptists and Methodists, were beginning to assume importance at the close of the Revolutionary War, but they ministered, generally, to the needs of the poorer people, and did not have the standing of the first mentioned religious bodies. The Congregational churches had become localized in New England. The Episcopal church had been seriously crippled through its taking the wrong side in the War; in addition to this, because of being cut off from ecclesiastical connections in Great Britain, the Methodists as a body, severed their relation with them, and, following the advice of John Wesley, began their separate existence as the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Presbyterians,

on /

1. Cleveland, The Great Revival of the West. p. 13.

on the other hand, had gained prestige because of their loyalty and patriotic service to the cause of liberty.

The religious among the western emigrants were largely from the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. It is true there were some representatives of the Congregationalists, Episcopalians and the Catholics, but they were not numerous, and soon lost their identity, or united with the other religious bodies. The churches which represented the wealth and the culture of the country, did not supply the main body of the new settlers in the western country; it is not generally ~~that~~ one who is well established in life, that tears up and goes to a new land; it is the youth of the population, or the man who has not yet found his proper niche in life. The Presbyterians, alone, of the leading denominations, sent many of their people into the Kentucky country. The Scotch-Irish, themselves comparatively new in America, were strong in western Pennsylvania and in the backwoods of Virginia and the Carolinas. They were easily tempted to move farther west, by the stories they heard of rich soil and cheap lands.

The Presbyterian church in America has always set a high standard for her ministry, requiring a liberal education in addition to theological training. Therefore, though in the early days of Kentucky, the Presbyterians and the Baptists were about numerically equal, the Presbyterians had the advantage of a trained leadership; and, consequently, a following from the wealthier and better educated of the people.

A good influence was exerted over all the early ministers, by the pioneer missionary, who laid the foundations of the Presbyterian church in Kentucky. Rev. David Rice, better known as "Father Rice," at the age of fifty, crossed the mountains, and established /

established his home in Mercer county, Kentucky - near where Danville now stands. He was a man of education and ability, and a powerful influence with the younger ministers who later joined the force. He had been converted under President Edwards, and had been graduated from Princeton College under the Presidency of Samuel Davies. During the Revolutionary days, he had lived in a new and frontier settlement, and among a heterogeneous population, where he acquired that experience that made him so well suited to lead the work in the West. David Rice was the first Presbyterian preacher to enter Kentucky. He began preaching in private houses around Danville, and gathered together the scattered Presbyterians into several congregations. During the summer of 1784 a house of worship was built - the first in the state - and a church organized. Other buildings¹ were constructed as various groups were organized into churches in the different communities.

But David Rice was not for long the only Presbyterian preacher in Kentucky. In 1784, at the request of some of his former members who had moved west, the Rev. Adam Rankin came and gathered together a church at Lexington - the first to be established by any people in that town. The same year the Rev. James Crawford settled at Walnut Hill. In 1786, the Rev. Thomas Craighead and the Rev. Andrew McClure joined the force. With the exception of Thomas Craighead, who came from North /

1. The following notice was printed in the Kentucky Gazette, for June 7, 1788.

"On Saturday, the 28th of this Inst. June will be let at Danville to the lowest bidder, the building of a framed meeting house, which is to be fifty feet long and forty feet wide. The payment for building the said house, will be in stock and country produce, such as Cattle, Whisky, Wheat and Rye.

Samuel M'Dowell.
George Caldwell.
John Rogers. Trustees."

North Carolina, these men were all from Virginia. These five ministers were constituted, by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, into the Transylvania Presbytery, which held its first session in the courthouse at Danville, on Tuesday, October 17, 1786.¹ By this time, twelve congregations were at least partially organized.²

In 1790, Robert Marshall and the celebrated Carey H. Allen - the first missionaries sent out by the Synod of Virginia, and, in fact, the first by the Presbyterian church after the formation of the General Assembly³ - entered Kentucky. Marshall was a native of Ireland, but at twelve years of age, with his father's family, he had settled in western Penn. He had studied at Liberty Hall, and later completed his theological course under Dr. McMillan. He had been licensed by the Redstone Presbytery, and had preached as a missionary in Virginia, until appointed by the Synod to go to Kentucky. It was not long after his arrival until he had gathered together two congregations, and was settled as the pastor of Bethel and Blue Springs Churches.

Meanwhile, small as were the beginnings of the Presbyterian church at this time, it was to be further weakened by schism and secession. At this time, the church was having some controversy over the question of a new version of Psalms. The Rouse version had been in general use in the churches, but when many agitated the newer and more poetical edition by Watts, it was decided that either version would be allowed in the churches. Adam Rankin was bitterly opposed to this "modernism", and refused to worship or commune with those who used the Watts version. In 1789, without an appointment /

1. Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, Oct. 17, 1786.
2. Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. p. 406.
3. Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. p. 407.

appointment, he had attended the first session of the General Assembly, to agitate the repeal of the privilege that had been granted by the old Synod of New York and Philadelphia. This unsuccessful mission only made him more determined, and he returned home denouncing the Presbyterian ministers as "deists and blasphemers, rejecters of revelation and revilers of God's word."¹ When censured by the Transylvania Presbytery, the Lexington church withdrew and made application to the Associate Synod. This Rankin Schism did serious injury to the cause of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, and in the days when they were still too weak to face such troubles. While they wrangled in their own camp the Deists rapidly gained ground, and the Methodists - the noisy despised Methodists - took the field.

However, these difficulties were to be met by fresh bands of ministers and missionaries. James Blythe came west in 1791, and for forty years was active in the leadership of the church in Kentucky. Like the other ministers of this period in the West, he carried his rifle, and rode with his holsters. For forty years he preached in Kentucky, mostly in the Pisgah church; he was active in the educational work of the state, being, for a long time a professor, and for twelve or fifteen years, acting President of Transylvania University.

At /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 98.

His opinions of his fellow ministers can best be ascertained from a statement that he makes in his book "Revivals in Kentucky," which he published in 1802. He says: "We have another assortment of refined deists, to which all former give credit, and they embrace the bulk of all the worshippers of this state and several others, who not a little glory in their multitude; These have renounced the worship of God in the ordinances of singing his praise, from a deep and rooted enmity against divine Revelation, centering its rage against that flowing river of divine pleasure in the Psalms of David; These have long been wise enough in their own eyes, and bold enough in their enterprise, to form any quantity in the prolific forge of their own imagination, and cram their human invention down the throats of their ignorant laity; with a thousand falacious bold assertions." (Revivals, p. 7)

At still later dates, Thomas Cleland, John Poage Campbell and Samuel Rannels, united with the Transylvania Presbytery.

Thomas Cleland had come from Maryland, with his family, in 1789, when he was twelve years old - only fourteen years after Daniel Boone had erected the first fort in Kentucky. They floated down the Ohio river on a flat-boat, in the days when the country was infested with Indians. He had studied with Dr. Blythe at Pisgah Academy, and entered upon the active work of the ministry in 1801.

John Poage Campbell, "unquestionably the most brilliant in point of intellect, of the whole pioneer band,"¹ was also trained in Kentucky by Father Rice, in the Transylvania Grammar School, but was later graduated from Hampden-Sydney College, returning to Kentucky in 1795.

John Lyle, of Irish descent, for some years preached as a missionary in Kentucky, but in 1800, became pastor of the churches at Salem and Sugar Ridge.

John Thompson arrived, from North Carolina, in 1795, but in 1800 began his work in the country north-west of the Ohio River. Matthew Houston, John Dunlavy and Richard McNemar, all of whom play important roles in our story, came to Kentucky about the close of the eighteenth century.

So strong had the church become in its leadership, that on April 12th, 1798, the Transylvania Presbytery was divided into three; when the Synod of Kentucky was erected in 1802, these three Presbyteries had a total ministerial membership of thirty seven.

The Presbyterians of Kentucky were thorough Calvinists; it was from the Kirk of Scotland in its days of trial, that they liked to trace their origin - through the north of Ireland and /

1. Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., p. 417

and the valley of Virginia. For the statement of their theology, we will quote from Father Rice, in the Epistle to the people of Kentucky, written in 1805 at the request of the Kentucky Synod: "I believe that the doctrines taught by the first Reformers, commonly called the Doctrines of Grace, viz. Of the total Moral Depravity of Human Nature - of Regeneration of the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Sacred Trinity - of the Atonement - of Justification in the sight of God, by the imputed Righteousness of Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity - and of Sanctification by the Spirit, through the Truth, are important Scripture truths, naturally connected with the doctrine of Election. These are called the Doctrines of Grace, because they consider man as totally ruined by his apostacy from God, and make his salvation wholly depend on the free grace of God, in Christ These doctrines are all mysterious, and some of them, at least, above human comprehension."¹ "The scriptural doctrine abases the fallen creature, and ascribes all the glory of man's salvation to free, sovereign grace. It maintains that we must be made willing in a day of divine power; that it is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do. That God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."² Thomas Craighead writing in 1809, says of his communion: "The doctrines of predestination and foreknowledge have been impressed into the service of the doctrine of necessity."³ He tells of a letter from a gentleman to his friend in Kentucky, which represents that "as God is supereminently holy, the unregenerated must love him so well, that he would be contented to be damned in all eternity, if the glory of God required /

1. Bishop, History of the Church in Kentucky, p. 323.
2. Bishop, History of the Church in Kentucky, p. 364.
3. Regeneration, p. 87.

required it. This system, I am credibly informed, is adopted by many members of your Synod."¹

To show the influence of this doctrine of necessity, James B. Finley, the son of Rev. Robert Finley, who preceded Barton Stone as Pastor at Concord and Cane Ridge, tells how as a child of a Presbyterian home, he was taught his catechism, and the impression of these teachings on his mind. He says: "From this I learned that God, from all eternity, had elected some men and angels to everlasting life, and passed by the remainder, ordaining them to eternal death. This election and reprobation was unconditional. Though young, I could not see the reason or justice of such a procedure on the part of God, and it gave me a very unfavourable impression in regard to the character of the Supreme Being. I recollect distinctly, of being harassed with fear, under the impression that God had decreed I should commit some crime, and be hung for it. Associated with this was the resolution, on my part, that if he had thus decreed, I would always be the enemy of God. These impressions arose from an inability, on my part, to reconcile the punishment of the creature for the commission of sins which God had decreed he should commit, and the justice of God in the infliction of that punishment."²

II. Baptists. /

1. Regeneration, p. 57.
2. Finley, Autobiography, p. 161.

II. BAPTISTS.

The Baptist churches, especially the Regulars, were, like the Presbyterians, Calvinistic in doctrine, and theirs was Calvinism of a type that is not known in the churches to-day. Spencer in his "History of the Kentucky Baptists" tells us that the ministers among the Regular Baptists, were hypercalvinistic. Although men of great zeal and vigorous intellects, they were usually limited in their education. They taught that Christ died to redeem the elect - "gave himself for the church." None but his people had any part in the sacrifice he made. "Sinners were 'dead in trespasses and sins,' therefore, they could no more help themselves than a dead man; and as it is the office-work of the Holy Spirit to quicken the dead, the mode of preaching the doctrine of regeneration as the work of the Almighty Spirit, was in such a form, and by such illustrations, as to leave the impression that the gospel was preached, not to convert sinners, but to comfort God's people." ¹ Later, they even carried this doctrine so far, that they opposed organized missionary work, as not only useless, but as even presumptuous, since it was an attempt to interfere with the plans of a sovereign God.

The Baptists, like the Presbyterians, had their ministers in Kentucky, but there was a contrast. The Presbyterians trained their ministers as a class apart; they taught their people that the clergy should be paid sufficiently to devote their entire time to the work of the Lord. The Baptists, on the other hand, often disapproved of a paid minister, and, with contempt, denounced the salaried clergy as "hirelings."²

These /

1. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 572.
2. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 561.

These were honest sentiments of men, who, often times, had been sent to prison for preaching the Bible to the poor, without charge - and this at the hands of the established church of Virginia, whose ministers were well paid from the public funds. The Baptist ministers moved to Kentucky, as the other settlers; worked their farms and "made an honest living."

William Hickman, a Baptist, was perhaps the first minister of any communion, ever to preach on Kentucky soil.¹ He came west on a tour of observation in 1776, but returned to Virginia; he later moved ~~to~~ west, and preached there for more than fifty years.

The first organized Baptist church, was that at Gilbert's Creek, planted there in 1781, by Elijah Craig, the story of which is a romance in American life. Craig had been one of the first converts to the Baptist preaching in Virginia. He had held meetings in his tobacco barn; and was so zealous and persistent, that the persecuters sent the sheriff for him, when at his plough. He was put in prison, but continued to preach through the bars to any who would hear him. Something of his courage may be gathered from his determination to move his entire church to Kentucky. This was the most interesting expedition that ever started West. This caravan of between 500 and 600 people - 200 of them members of Elijah Craig's church - started for Kentucky in September, 1781.² They took with them every movable thing - the official books, the church records, the communion service and the Bible from the pulpit. With them was "Uncle Peter," later known as "Old Captain," the first negro preacher known in the Kentucky settlements.³ Their "trek" was a heroic one - leaving their wagons at Fort Chiswell, for there was only a trail into Kentucky, they carried their supplies /

1. Redford, The History of Methodism in Kentucky, p. 21.

2. Ranck, The Travelling Church, p. 13.

3. Ranck, The Travelling Church, p. 22.

supplies on their backs and on pack-horses, all but the aged and delicate walking - men, women and children - for weeks and weeks, through the cold and snow, and often not daring to build a fire for fear of attracting the Indians. They arrived at Gilbert's Creek and established Craig's Station; here, on the second Sunday in December, 1781, they worshipped around the same old Bible, and were preached to by their beloved pastor. So met the first Baptist church ever assembled in that country;¹ one that had been organized in a distant land, and moved bodily from Spottsylvania to Kentucky - ^{one of} the most remarkable episode in the early settlement of America.

This was but the beginning. By 1790 the Baptists had, in Kentucky, 42 churches and 3105 communicants - about one Baptist to every 23 inhabitants of the state. They had three Associations - Elkhorn, South Kentucky and Salem - all organized in 1785.

By 1800, they had increased to six associations, 106 churches, and 5,119 members, or one Baptist to every 43 of the population. This decrease in the proportion of church members, was general through Kentucky, due to the influence of French infidelity; it is remarkable to find the worst religious conditions, just on the eve of the greatest revival of modern times.²

The Baptists, like the Presbyterians, had division in their own ranks. They had brought with them from Virginia, the old parties - the Regular and the Separate Baptists. This distinction had grown out of the revivals of George Whitfield. Although Whitfield had worked with the Wesleys, he was a decided Calvinist and when they became openly Arminian, he had parted company with them. He had preached in America with great /

1. Ranck, The Travelling Church, p. 31.

2. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 481.

great success. A few ministers of the established churches, among them Jonathan Edwards, did all they could to promote the revivals; however, the majority were opposed, and were supported in their opposition by the colonial governments. Many people were punished for advancing the revivals. The Congregational churches in New England divided on the subject. Those who favoured Whitfield and split off from the established church, were called the Separates; the others were denominated Regulars. Conformity to Congregationalism was enforced in New England, with the exception of Rhode Island. At that time, in spite of persecution, there were forty Baptist churches in New England, the most of them very weak. These churches took sides, for and against the work of Whitfield, and, following the example of the Congregationalists, assumed the names of Separate Baptists and Regular Baptists. In Virginia these two bodies had gradually assumed some theological differences: the Regulars were strongly Calvinistic; the Separates were not exactly unanimous in their doctrines, having various grades of opinion, some being almost Arminians. These parties came to Kentucky. But here, the Calvinistic Separatists united with the Regular Baptists in forming the Elkhorn Association, which adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. A union was consummated in Virginia in 1787, but in Kentucky the Separates were afraid to be bound by Confessions, and the Regulars were not willing to give them up. They met in convention at South Elkhorn, in 1785, to do away with this division, but it only resulted in dissension and bitter feeling, which separated the two parties /

parties further than before. This party spirit continued until about 1800, and did much to injure the work of the Baptist church in Kentucky.

3. THE METHODISTS /

3. THE METHODISTS.

The ministry of the Methodist church was different from either the Presbyterian or the Baptist. Some, it is true, cared for the church as they worked their farms or at their trades, but the Methodist preacher, as such, was a circuit rider, going continually from place to place, visiting the churches and the people. He went forth under the confident belief that he was sent by the Holy Spirit. His field of labour was the world. The salary allowed him, according to the discipline of the church, was sixty-four dollars a year;¹ this was to include the value of all presents that he might receive, whether it be yarn stockings or wedding fees. From this amount he must provide his horse, saddle, books and his clothing. The same was allowed a man with a wife and family, for it was understood that a minister was better off without a wife; when one married, it was thought best that he should "locate," and serve as a "local-preacher," while he secured his living from his farm or some trade.

These men were truly heroes. With small financial prospects, they were willing to travel in this new country, often alone; they must face privation, weather and danger from the Indians. Often times they would be refused admittance at some frontier cabin, which happened to be of some other faith, so bitter was the feeling against the Methodists. And even though he must sleep in the thicket or on the prairie, he never started on his journey until he had read his chapter from the Bible and knelt there on the ground for his private devotions. So faithful was the itinerant minister that the saying /

1. Milburn, Pioneer Preachers and People of the West, p. 363.

saying became proverbial on a cold winter day "There is nothing out to-day but crows and Methodist preachers."

Francis Asbury - the first Bishop of the Methodist church - for fifty years, travelled constantly on horseback, from one end of the country to another. He became associated with the society in 1771 when they had not more than fifty members; but as the result of his labours and those of his co-workers, at his death in 1816, the church numbered, black and white, almost a million members.¹

The Kentucky circuit, belonging to the Virginia conference, was formed in 1786; two preachers, Benjamin Ogden and James Haw, were sent as missionaries, and to have charge of this territory.

The Methodists of that early day were a very ardent people. They were plain in their dress, wearing neither jewellery nor ruffles, and considering such the results of wicked vanity. They would gladly go thirty or forty miles to a quarterly meeting, that they might meet the presiding elder and the other ministers. Their meetings were apt to be noisy, for they thought that to repress the impulse to shout, was to "quench the Holy Spirit," or "to resist the Holy Ghost." Like the Baptists and Presbyterians, they believed that faith was a miracle wrought in the heart by the power of God; but they taught that salvation was for all men, if they would just pray and "beg" long enough. During revivals, their feelings knew no limits. They gave the fullest encouragement to excitement. With Wesley's hymns, they mingled various innovations, such as:

"The Devil hates the Methodists;
O halle - halleluia;
Because they do keep so full,
O glory halleluia."
and /

1. Milburn, Pioneer Preachers and People of the West, p. 370.

and "Shout! shout! we are gaining ground
 O halle - halleluia.
 The Devil's kingdom shall come down;
 O, glory, halleluia!"

or this one, "The richest man I ever saw, was one that begged
 the most,
 His soul was filled with glory, and with the
 Holy Ghost,
 etc."¹

The first year after the arrival of Ogden and Haw in Kentucky, they reported a membership of ninety. During 1787, they increased from 90 to 480. In 1790, Bishop Asbury visited the country, and organized an annual conference, including six preachers. At the close of that year, 1555 members were reported. The church grew rapidly, until in 1800, they could report five circuits and 1,742 members.²

The following extract from a letter written by James Haw to Bishop Asbury, in 1789, shows both the rapid growth and the zealous nature of the Kentucky Methodists:

"Good news from Zion: the work of God is going on rapidly in the new world: a glorious victory the Son of God has gained, and he is still going on conquering and to conquer. Shout, ye angels! Hell trembles and heaven rejoices daily over sinners that repent. At a quarterly meeting held in Bourbon county, Kentucky, July 19 and 20, 1788, the Lord poured out his Spirit in a wonderful manner, first on the Christians, and sanctified several of them powerfully and gloriously, and, as I charitably hope, wholly. The seekers also felt the power and presence of God, and cried for mercy as at the point of death. We prayed with and for them, till we had reason to believe that the Lord converted seventeen or eighteen precious souls. Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord!

"As I went from that, through the circuit, to another quarterly /

1. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists.

2. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists.

quarterly meeting, the Lord converted two or three more. The Saturday and Sunday following, the Lord poured out his Spirit again. The work of sanctification among the believers broke out again at the Lord's table, and the Spirit of the Lord went through the Assembly like a mighty rushing wind. Some fell; many cried for mercy. Sighs and groans proceeded from their hearts; tears of sorrow for sin ran streaming down their eyes. Their prayers reached heaven, and the Spirit of the Lord entered into them and filled fourteen or fifteen with peace and joy in believing. Salvation! O the joyful sound! how the echo flies! A few days after, Brother Polythress came, and went with me to another quarterly meeting. We had another gracious season round the Lord's table, but no remarkable stir till after preaching; when, under several exhortations, some bursted out into tears, others trembled, and some fell. I sprang in among the people, and the Lord converted one more very powerfully, who praised the Lord with such acclamation of joy as I trust will never be forgotten. The Sunday following, I preached my farewell sermon, and met the class, and the Lord converted three more. Glory be to his holy name forever etc."¹

The Methodists were, in the beginning days, bitterly opposed by the Calvinists, both Baptists and Presbyterians,² principally because they denied the "Doctrines of Grace."

Adam /

1. Redford, The History of Methodism in Kentucky, pp. 46, 47.

2. We find this spirit many years later. In a private letter from the Rev. Joshua Lacy Wilson, to his friend, the Rev. John Poage Campbell, and dated April 3, 1812, the writer states: "My dear Brother pray for me that my strength may be equal to my day. I am surrounded by a host of enemies, Infidels and Arminians who act in Co. No less than ten methodist preachers live in Cincinnati! But great is truth and must prevail though hand join in hand against it."

(Original hand-written letter, Wilson Papers).

Adam Rankin, writing in 1802, lists, what to him are the abominations that the Methodists would have them believe. He states:

"In the first place, we must believe that the doctrine of eternal election and reprobation, is a damnable heresy.

"II. We must believe that Christ died for all men indiscriminately, and that there is no legal obstruction to any man going to heaven, as he comes into this world; we are as clear of original sin, as Adam was before he ate the forbidden fruit.

"III. We must believe, that the origin of distinction between those who are saved, and those who are lost, depends solely upon the free volition of the creature; and that those who are saved are no more in debt to heaven, than those who perish forever.

"IV. We must believe that most exalting, animating principle that God loved us, and put all power into our hands, to govern and dispose of ourselves, both in this world and that which is to come; and that it behooves Christ to humble himself unto us, and say 'Lords, are there many or few of you to be saved?

"V. We must believe that the most pure, and well ordered covenant, that can be entered into between God and man, respecting his eternal all, can be broken, and ratified, ratified and broken, as often as the caprice of the creature suggests, and render the whole economy of redemption, as void as if it had never been.

"We must believe that the gospel church who depended upon the righteousness of Jesus Christ, without the deeds of the law for justification, must be damned for not believing the /

the above articles. If this is all proved by the present miracles, then before heaven and earth; I this day subscribe myself a profest deist, and an open enemy to revealed religion, and without God in the world."¹

These three churches acknowledged each other as christian, but they stood entirely separate as to fellowship or communion. At first there was much hostility and antagonism - a sort of pugnacious rivalry - between the various denominations. Milburn in his "Pioneer Preachers" says: "There is an active, rough resolute courage, independence and pluck about the western people, which inclines them to close shuffling and grappling, a sort of knockdown attitude visible through all the moods of their life; and their clergy are not free from the same peculiarities."² Consequently, there were great controversies among them, concerning Baptism and Pedo-baptism, or Free Grace and Predestination, etc. Representatives of the different denominations would debate each other, the debates often lasting for several days. These meetings would be conducted from temporary platforms erected in a grove that could accommodate a large number of hearers, and here they would "treat - and maltreat - the doctrines and views of each other, to the eminent edification, and often-times, the entertainment, of the assembled multitudes."³

However, religion was fast losing ground. Finally, realizing this, and alarmed at the presence of the common enemy, Deism, the christian people were forced to forget their differences, and join their efforts in the common cause. The Presbyterians and Methodists⁴ began to unite together /

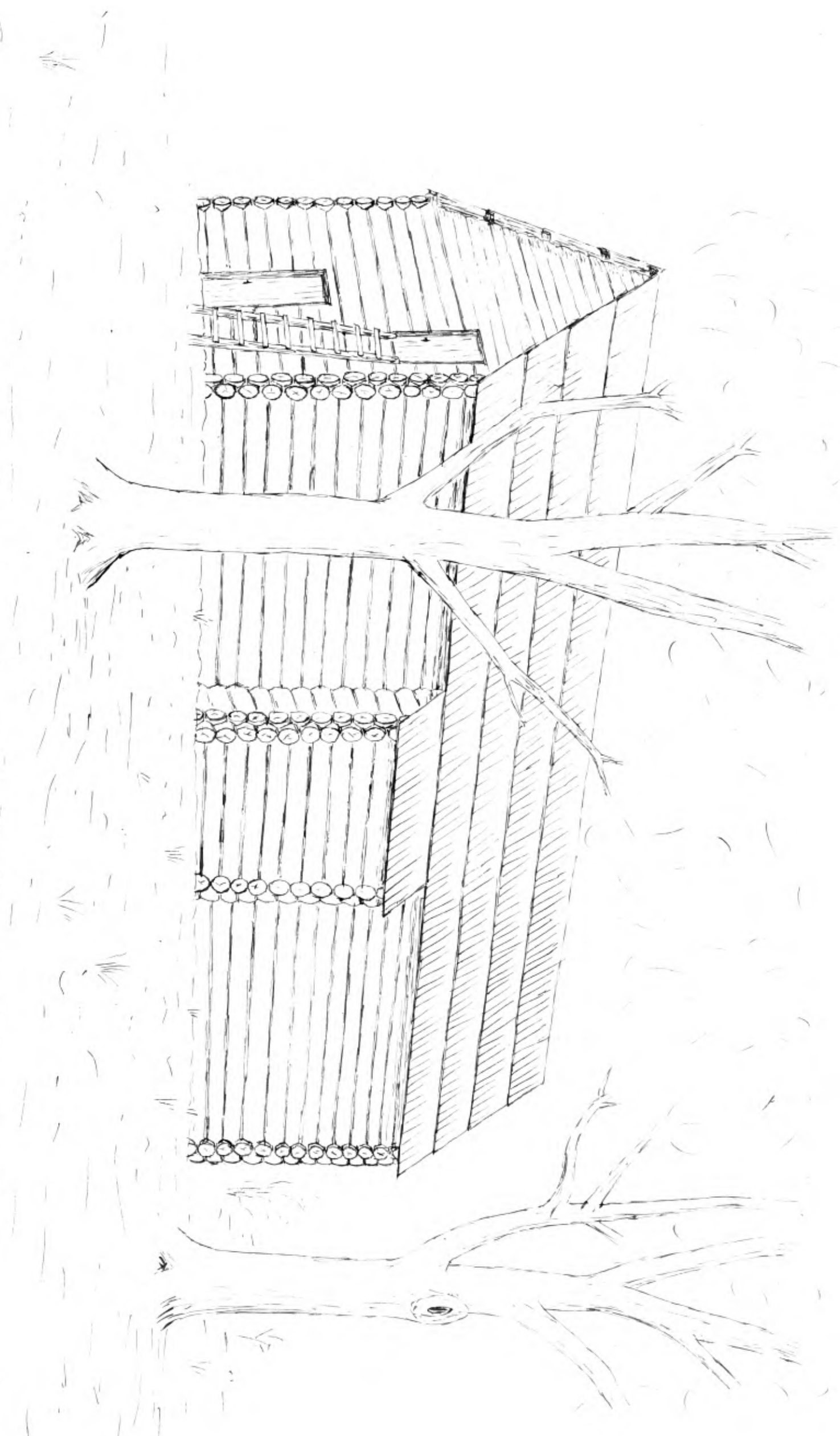
1. Rankin, The Revival, p. 31.

2. Milburn, Pioneer Preachers and People of the West, p. 355.

3. Milburn, Pioneer Preachers and People of the West, p. 356.

4. The Baptists, with their principle of restricted communion, were not permitted to engage in these meetings.

together for "union-meetings" on sacramental occasions, this was true at first only in the more sparsely settled communities. Under the united efforts of those two strong denominations, the people of Kentucky became interested in religion, and there began the Great Revival of the West, the most interesting in the history of the American churches.



Sketch of "Cane Ridge Meeting House" From Description (Rogers, 31-33).

CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT REVIVAL IN THE WEST.

The Kentucky Revival began in Logan county in May, 1797, under the ministry of James McGready, who had come to the Cumberland country the year before. Because of intense opposition which his unsparing censures had drawn upon him "from the ungodly", he had left Orange county, N. Car., and had come to this newer land. Some of his former hearers, who had moved to Kentucky, forwarded him a call to be their pastor; he accepted, and arrived in the fall of 1796, being then about thirty three years of age, and full of fiery zeal. It was not long before the effects of his preachings were visible. He himself writes of the work of that spring: "The doctrines of the new birth, faith and repentance, which were uniformly preached, seemed to excite serious inquiry in the minds of many concerning the state of their souls." ¹

The following extracts from his sermon on the New Birth, delivered in the heart searching style of James McGready, the Son of Thunder, make it possible for us to imagine the effect of such preaching, on these frontier people:

"Now if your consciences declare that you never had any such sense of sin as gave you heart-rending pain and anguish, made you lament and mourn and deeply bewail your wretched and deplorable situation - beyond all doubt you are at this moment destitute of living religion. You have never come to Christ, and are yet obnoxious to eternal death. What a dismal state! Every morning that you rise from sleep, God's curse is upon you. Every night when you lie down upon your bed, you go to sleep with /

1. McGready, Works. ii, 344.

with his heavy curse upon you. Your food, your clothing, your houses and lands, and all your enjoyments are cursed of God. The artillery of heaven is levelled against you, and all the infinite perceptions of that God who, by a word of his almighty power, brought all the universe into existence, are engaged to make you eternally and completely miserable, if you continue to reject Christ, and live in the practice of sin..... You have never had one sad day or gloomy night on account of sin, during your lives; and yet you hope to go to heaven! This is the hypocrite's hope, and shall perish. Unless you are truly sorry for sin and feel the pangs of the new birth, you shall never set foot in the paradise of God..... As long as you are strangers to the new birth, all the curses, terrors and threatenings hang over your head. The vengeance of the eternal God is gathering in a thick tempest ready to burst upon you: Jehovah seated upon the burning throne of Justice frowns upon you: the devils are waiting the dreadful mandate, that they may sink their fiery talons into your souls and drag you to the infernal pit! Oh that you were wise, that you understood this, and would consider what would be the end of your course. Fly to Jesus while the door of mercy is open. Fly, fly to the ark of safety before the deluge of God's wrath overtakes you. Turn to the stronghold, while you are yet prisoners of hope; for behold the avenger of blood is at your heels - the sword of inflexible justice is drawn and ready to be plunged into your hearts." 1

The people began seriously to inquire concerning religion. Was it something they could know and feel? Could they be sure that they had it? If so, there was something wrong with them. Experimental /

1. McGready's Sermons, "The New Birth," Vol ii, 68-117.

Experimental religion was the subject of the neighbourhood discussions. About May, the work began to be visible. A woman, who was in full communion in his church, found "her old hope false and delusive - she was struck with deep conviction, and in a few days was filled with joy and peace in believing."¹ She went from house to house, telling her friends and relatives of her "experience;" she would plead with them to repent and seek religion. Others became similarly concerned as to their spiritual welfare, with the result that, during that summer, ten persons were brought to Christ. In the autumn the spirit seemed to change, and a general deadness prevailed in the congregation.

At the sacrament in McGready's Gasper River congregation, in July, 1798 - at which the Rev. John Rankin² assisted - a general awakening took place, and there were but few families in the community that were not affected by the revival spirit, and who were not "struck with an awful sense of their low estate". Worldly cares were forgotten during the following week, so great was the interest of the people in religion. Again at the sacramental meeting at McGready's Muddy River congregation in September, and at Red River, interest grew with each sermon. In almost every home in these communities, the people were deeply interested in the revival. About this time, the Rev. James Balch³ - also a Presbyterian minister - came to that country; he opposed the doctrines preached, and ridiculed the work of the revival until a party was formed against the movement - which opposition largely stopped the work for the time being.

Things /

1. McGready, Letter of 1801, Works Vol. i.
2. See "Autobiography of John Rankin". John Rankin came from the Orange Presbytery in North Carolina, and is not to be confused with the Adam Rankin, mentioned in the last chapter.
3. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists, 507.

Things remained quiet through the winter and until the administration of the sacrament at Red River, in July, 1799. This new excitement was not transitory as was the former revival, but continued to grow and increase in power until it reached its heights in 1800 and 1801. This meeting was attended by five ministers - Mr. McGready, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Hodge and Mr. Wm. McGee, Presbyterian ministers, and John McGee his brother, who was a Methodist minister. The McGee brothers had formerly resided in North Carolina. Wm. McGee was in charge of a Presbyterian congregation in Sumner county, Tenn; John McGee was a local preacher in the Methodist Church. These brothers were very fond of each other, and frequently held meetings together; labouring side by side for the promotion of a common christianity. Accordingly Wm. McGee brought his brother with him to this sacramental meeting in Logan county, Kentucky, in the congregation of James McGready. The following extract from a letter written by John McGee, to the Rev. Thomas L. Douglas, presiding Elder of the Nashville District - dated June 23, 1830 and printed in the Methodist Magazine, gives ~~an vivid~~ picture of the meeting:

"When we came there, I was introduced by my brother, and received an invitation to address the congregation from the pulpit, and I know not that ever God favoured me with more light and liberty than he did each day, while I endeavoured to convince the people they were sinners and urged the necessity of repentance, and of a change from nature to grace; and held up to their view the greatness, freeness and fulness of salvation, which was in Christ Jesus, for lost, guilty condemned sinners...
... While Mr Hodge was preaching, a woman in the east end of the house got an uncommon blessing, broke through order, and shouted for some time, and then sat down in silence. At the close /

close of the sermon, Messrs Hodge, McGready, and Rankin went out of the house; my brother and myself sat still; the people seemed to have no disposition to leave their seats. My brother felt such a power come on him, that he quit his seat, and sat on the floor of the pulpit (I suppose not knowing what he did.) A power which caused me to tremble was upon me. There was a solemn weeping all over the house. Having a wish to preach, I strove against my feelings; at length I rose up and told the people I was appointed to preach, but there was a greater than I preaching, and exhorted them to let the Lord God Omnipotent reign in their hearts, and to submit to him, and their souls should live. Many broke silence; the woman in the east end of the house shouted tremendously. I left the pulpit to go to her, and as I went along through the people, it was suggested to me: 'You know these people are much for order; they will not bear this confusion; go back and be quiet,' I turned to go back and was near falling. The power of God was strong upon me; I turned again, and, losing sight of the fear of man, I went through the house, shouting and exhorting with all possible ecstasy and energy, and the floor was soon covered with the slain; their screams for mercy pierced the heavens, and the mercy came down. Some found forgiveness, and many went away from that meeting, feeling unutterable agonies of soul for redemption in the blood of Jesus. This was the beginning of that glorious revival of religion in this country, which was so great a blessing to thousands; and from this meeting, camp-meetings took their rise. One man for the want of horses for all his family to ride and attend the meeting, fixed up his wagon, in which he took them and his provisions, and lived on the ground throughout the meeting. He had left his worldly cares /

cares behind him, and had nothing to do but attend on Divine service."¹

McGready tells us that so impressed were the people, at this sacrament, that the boldest daring sinners in the country covered their faces and wept bitterly.

The month after, another sacrament was held in a Gaspar River congregation, ministered to by Mr Rankin. After the sermon, the people were very solemn and kept their seats, every one appearing unusually serious. Presently several people began to cry aloud, and many fell to the ground, powerless, but groaning and praying for mercy. Again we quote from James McGready: "As I passed through the multitude, a woman, lying in awful distress, called me to her. Said she, 'I lived in your congregation in Carolina; I was a professor and often went to the communion; but I was deceived, I have no religion; I am going to hell.'"² These descriptions from the men who were present at the beginning of the Great Revival of the West, give us an understanding as to how it began and grew, until it spread through all Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, and even to the more distant parts of the United States. However, we should note here, that not all of the Presbyterian clergy of the lower settlements, took an active part in these scenes described. The five names - McGready, Hodge, McGee, McAdow and Rankin - complete the list of promoters /

1. Redford, The History of Methodism in Kentucky, p. 269.
2. McGready, Letter of 1801, Works vol. i.

promoters; the other ministers disapproved of the work.¹

Excitement continued at every sacrament. McGready says the year 1800 exceeded anything his eyes had ever before seen, and to which the three former years were but an introduction - but as drops before a mighty rain. In June, at Red River, multitudes were struck down under their great conviction; some were thrown into strange contortions of the body, frightful to see; others had gestures and actions "quite inconsistent with Presbyterial order and usage." One of the Presbyterian ministers, in great distress, took Rankin aside to discuss what could be done to quell the confusion. Being strangers to such proceedings, they knew not what to do; they had never before seen anything of the sort. But at this time, James McGready came forward and exhorted powerfully, "encouraging the wounded of the day never to cease striving or give up their pursuit, until they obtained peace to their souls."²

At Gasper River, in July, 1800, the sacrament was held in the new Meeting-house, one mile and a half below South Union. On the last day, people began to fall prostrate on all sides, and the cries were continuous. Toward the approach of night, the floor of the house was so nearly covered with the bodies of the penitent, that it was necessary to carry them outside, and lay them on their coats or on the grass.³ These people attended from as far as a hundred miles distant. Whole families came in their wagons, loaded with provisions, and prepared to stay during the days of the excitement. The plan of camp-meetings was being introduced -
a /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 135.

Wm. Hodge, Samuel McAdow and John Rankin were all dismissed from the Orange Presbyterary in N. Carolina in 1800; Wm. McGee and Barton Stone in 1799. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina. p. 376.

2. Rankin's Autobiography, p. 37.

3. Rankin's Autobiography, p. 40.

a plan that was to spread to all parts like wild-fire, and to become one of the well-known American institutions. This was perhaps the first regular Camp-Meeting ever held.¹ James McGready had made known throughout the country, some time before, that he expected the people to come prepared to stay on the ground; ministers, especially, were invited to attend. Impelled by curiosity, a great multitude assembled. Some brought tents; others slept in their covered wagons. The people was allotted places to live, on a regular encampment plan, arranged so as to form a hollow square; in the rear, during the morning and evening, such simple cooking as was necessary, was carried on. At one end of this central area, had been erected a platform of logs and planks, and surrounded by a handrail. The main body of the space was covered with hewn logs, arranged in parallel rows, to serve as seats for the audience. Lights were hung from the trees, and torches blazed from stakes erected in front of the tents, and at various distances on the grounds. Here in the morning, afternoon and evening, various ministers preached to the people; and there ^{was} always prayer services being conducted in some tent, or gatherings of special workers in the church building for the purpose of "comforting the mourners," Such was a primitive camp-meeting in the forests of Kentucky, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

One peculiar characteristic of these Cumberland revivals, was the number of children affected. McGready tells of a little girl that he saw at this Gaspar River Camp-meeting. She lay across her mother's lap in despair. While he was conversing with her, she started to her feet and joyously exclaimed /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 134.

exclaimed, "O, he is willing, he is willing - he is come - O what a sweet Christ he is - O what a fullness I see in him - O why was it that I never could believe! that I never could come to Christ before when Christ was so willing to save me?" Then she began to address the people, and to plead with them to repent - and all in language so rational and scriptural that the minister was filled with astonishment. Such scenes were not unusual, with children of ten, eleven and twelve years of age.¹

These sacramental meetings were held in rapid succession in various congregations. The woods and roads were alive with people - on foot, on horseback, and in wagons and other carriages. The number reported as present, seems almost impossible in that new land. People of every age and religious state attended. Business was suspended; homes were deserted; everything stopped for the camp meeting. The name, "General Camp-Meeting" came into use from the fact that, very early in the excitement, the Methodists joined in, and soon were the most active promoters of the work. Being accustomed to revivals, their methods were introduced, Wesley's hymns were sung, and it was not very long until they had given a decided slant to the doctrinal views that were preached in these meetings. It became customary, in the Cumberland country, especially, for the Presbyterians and Methodists to work together, without any sectarian discriminations; the Baptists attended upon the work, but did not enter heartily into it, as did the other two communions.

Slow as communication was in these primitive days of western life, the news of these remarkable religious gatherings /

1. McGready, Letter of 1801, Works, vol. i.

gatherings, soon spread to all parts of the country. Tales of these wonderful happenings constantly were being told in the congregations at Concord and Cane Ridge, which were under the care of our young Presbyterian minister, Barton Warren Stone. He was anxious to see for himself just what all of this meant, for things were moving along quietly in his own locality. In Upper Kentucky the indifference to religion was alarming. Not only the power of religion, but the very form of it, was fast fading away.¹ It must be remembered that the Presbyterian ministers who were the leaders in the Cumberland revivals, were all old friends and acquaintances of Stone. It was under the preaching of James McGready, while yet a student of Dr. David Caldwell, at Guilford Academy, that he had been so deeply stirred. He had been converted under the preaching of Wm. Hodge, and had studied for his licentiate under the direction of this same minister. Wm. McGee, Samuel McAdow and John Rankin, had been members of his old Presbytery. This would, of necessity, give him an added interest in the reports that came from the Cumberland country.

Ever since his ordination, in October, 1798, Barton Stone had been troubled by speculative divinity. These subjects were kept constantly before his mind, through the controversies /

1. Dr. Baxter, writing to Dr. Alexander (both leaders in the Presbyterian church in the eastern settlements), in a letter which was published in a volume of the London Evangelical Magazine for 1802, in speaking of the beginnings of the revivals in upper Kentucky, which he visited, says: "The whole of that country, about a year before (1801), was remarkable for vice and dissipation; and I have been credibly informed that a decided majority of the people were professed infidels."
(Letter quoted entire in Revivals of Religion, published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication).

controversies that were waged by the different sects, with so "much zeal and bad feeling."¹ Stone writes: "I at that time believed, and taught, that mankind were so totally depraved that they could do nothing acceptable to God, till his Spirit, by some physical, almighty, and mysterious power had quickened, enlightened, and regenerated the heart, and thus prepared the sinner to believe in Jesus for salvation. I began plainly to see, that if God did not perform this regenerating work in all, it must be because he chose to do it for some, and not for others, and that this depended on His own sovereign will and pleasure. It then required no depth of intellect to see that this doctrine is inseparably linked with unconditional election and reprobation, as taught in the Westminster Confession of Faith. They are virtually one; and this was the reason why I admitted the decrees of election and reprobation, having admitted the doctrine of total depravity. They are inseparable.

"Scores of objections would continually roll across my mind, against this system. These I imputed to the blasphemous suggestions of Satan, and laboured to repel them as Satanic temptations, and not honestly to meet them with scriptural arguments. Often when I was addressing the listening multitudes on the doctrine of total depravity, their inability to believe - and of the necessity of the physical power of God to produce faith; and then persuading the helpless to repent and believe the gospel, my zeal in a moment would be chilled at the contradiction. How can they believe? How can they repent? How can they do impossibilities? How can they be guilty in not doing them? Such thoughts would almost stifle utterance /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 30.

utterance, and were as mountains pressing me down to the shades of death. I tried to rest in the common salve of the day, i.e., the distinction between natural and moral ability and inability. The pulpits were continually ringing with this doctrine; but to my mind it ceased to be a relief; for by whatever name it be called, that inability was in the sinner, and therefore he could not believe, nor repent, but must be damned. Wearied with the works and doctrines of men, and distrustful of their influence, I made the Bible my constant companion. I honestly, earnestly, and prayerfully sought for the truth, determined to buy it at the sacrifice of everything else."¹

Stone reasoned long on these subjects. He, himself, had a great love for mankind, and would see them all saved; could it be that God was not equally kind? Does he not love the whole world, and wish to see them all saved? However, he was puzzled. He knew that according to the Scriptural teaching, all men were not saved. Finally, from his reading and meditating, he became convinced "that God did love the whole world, and that the reason why he did not save all, was because of their unbelief; and that the reason why they believed not, was not because God did not exert his physical, almighty power in them to make them believe, but because they neglected and received not his testimony, given in the Word concerning his Son."² This requirement of belief in order to salvation, seemed to him, reasonable, for "the testimony given was sufficient to produce faith in the sinner; and the invitations and encouragement of the gospel were sufficient, if believed, to lead him to the Saviour, for the promised Spirit, salvation and eternal life."³

This /

1. Stone, Autobiography, pp. 30, 31.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 33.
3. Stone, Autobiography, p. 33.

This new reasoning relieved his mind of all the distresses of years, and for the first time, he was satisfied with his faith. He says: "I now saw plainly that it was not against the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ that I had been tempted to blaspheme, but against the character of a God not revealed in the Scriptures - a character no rational creature can love or honour - a character universally detested when seen even in man; for what man, professing great love for his children, would give them impossible commands, and then severely punish them for not doing them; and all this for his mere good pleasure? What man acting thus would not be despised as a monster, or demon in human shape, and be hissed from all respectable society? Shall we dare to impute such a character to the God of the universe?"¹

However, Barton Stone was doubtful about the wisdom of preaching these views, and these doubts were increased by writing a certain Presbyterian minister concerning them. He decided to say nothing publicly, until he was sure that he could defend his opinions against the opposition that he was certain to meet.

Early in the spring of 1801, being interested in the religious activities and the great excitement among his old friends in the south, he attended a camp meeting "on the edge of a prairie" in Logan county, Kentucky. Large crowds of people came and camped on the ground for several days and nights, during which time worship was being conducted in some part of the encampment. The scene was new to Stone,² and impressed him as very strange. He wrote: "Many, very many fell down, as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 33.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 34.

together in an apparently breathless and motionless state - sometimes for a few moments reviving, and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan, or piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy most fervently uttered. After lying thus for hours, they obtained deliverance. The gloomy cloud, which had covered their faces, seemed gradually and visibly to disappear, and hope in smiles brightened into joy - they would rise shouting deliverance, and then would address the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With astonishment did I hear men, women and children declaring the wonderful works of God, and the glorious mysteries of the gospel. Their appeals were solemn, heart-piercing, bold and free. Under such addresses many others would fall down into the same state from which the speakers had just been delivered.¹

Several of Stone's acquaintances, also visitors from a distance, were "struck down." He sat for hours beside one of them, whom he knew to be a "careless sinner." He observed with critical attention, the symptoms in the case - "the momentary revivings as from death - the humble confession of sins - the fervent prayer, and the ultimate deliverance - then the solemn thanks and praise to God - the affectionate exhortation to companions and to the people around, to repent and come to Jesus." Barton Stone, after witnessing the effects of these revivals, was convinced that it was truly a work of God. He writes: "Much did I then see, and much have I seen since, that /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 35

that I considered to be fanaticism;¹ but this should not condemn the work. The Devil has always tried to ape the works of God, to bring them into disrepute. But that cannot be a Satanic work, which brings men to humble confession and forsaking of sin - to solemn prayer - fervent praise and thanksgiving, and to sincere and affectionate exhortations to sinners to repent and turn to Jesus the Saviour. I am always hurt to hear people speak lightly of this work. I always think they speak of what they know nothing about. Should every thing bearing the impress of imperfection be blasphemously rejected, who amongst us at this time could stand."²

Stone returned to his own work, very enthusiastic. He preached at Cane Ridge on the Lord's Day after his return. The people of the community, anxious to get a first hand report of the mighty "doings" in the South, came together in large numbers. Barton Stone told them of the things he had seen and heard. He preached a sermon from this text, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." He told them that the gospel was for all men, and that faith was the requirement for salvation; he urged them to believe at once, and accept Christ /

1. The Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., Prof. of Eccl. History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary in Princeton, N.J. writing of the Kentucky Revival, said: —
 "...My impression is, that the most enlightened and sincere friends of vital piety, who had the best opportunity of being intimately acquainted with the revivals referred to believe them to have been a real work of the Holy Spirit, or at least to have been productive of a number of genuine conversions. But that this work of grace was attended, and finally overshadowed, disgraced and terminated by fanaticisms and disorders of the most distressing character, will not, probably be questioned by any competent judges." p. 33 (Letter in Appendix of Sprague's "Revivals")
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 35.

Christ as their Saviour. The congregation was visibly affected, and many left for home in tears. He left an appointment for a few days later, and hurried to his next meeting at his other pastoral charge, the Concord Presbyterian Church, where he was to preach at night. At that service, two little girls were struck down, with very much the same symptoms that had been experienced by the children in the Cumberland country; their addresses made a deep impression on the congregation.

On the day that he returned to Cane Ridge, he heard much of the effects of his sermon the Sunday before. Many were "solemnly engaged in seeking the Lord, and were rejoicing in him." When he came to the appointed meeting, which was to be at William Maxwell's home, he was met at the gate with embraces and shouts of joy, by his special friend, Nathaniel Rogers - one of the most influential men in the community. This novel scene caused considerable commotion, and soon all of the people from the house were assembled around them. In less than twenty minutes many had fallen to the ground; all were pale and trembling with anxiety; some attempted to get away from the scene, but either fell, or returned to the crowd, fascinated by the unusual excitement. An "intelligent deist" stepped up, and said 'Mr Stone, I have always thought before that you were an honest man; but now I am convinced you are deceiving the people.' Stone spoke a few words to him, and immediately he fell as a dead man;¹ when he arose he confessed his faith in the Saviour. The meeting continued there at the gate, in the open air, until late that night, and "many found peace in the Lord."

The /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 37.

The effects of this gathering spread through the country. At a meeting at Cabin Creek, beginning on the 22nd of May and continuing four days and three nights, the scenes were beyond description. So many fell, that to prevent them being trodden upon by the multitude, "they were collected together, and laid out in order, on two squares of the meeting house; which, like so many dead corpses, covered a considerable part of the floor."¹

The next sacramental meeting was held at Concord about the last of May or the first of June.² The entire country seemed to be in attendance, including people from all denominations. Party spirit was forgotten, and all entered heartily into the work. It was supposed that about 4,000 people were present. Of the seven Presbyterian ministers there, four of them were opposed to these "exercises" and spoke against it until about the fourth day. McNemar says that by that time the evidences of the work had become so powerful, that, with tears in their eyes, they stood before the multitude, and proclaimed their belief that this was the Spirit of God, for which they had long prayed. These physical exercises, such as falling, etc. did not end with the meeting; men and women were affected at various places where they met together, or even, as they went about their employment in their homes.³

Other meetings were held at various churches,⁴ but Barton Stone gives no record of them, and it is possible that he had no /

1. McNemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 24.

2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 37; McNemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 24.

3. McNemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 25.

4. In the upper part of Kentucky, they were held in rapid succession. Between May and August, 1801, no less than six were conducted, varying in time from four days to a week, viz:- Cabin Creek, Concord, Pleasant Point, Indian Creek and Cane Ridge, in Kentucky, and at Eagle Creek in Adams county, Ohio.

(Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 137)

(McNemar, The Kentucky Revival, pp. 23 - 26)

no part in the services, for on July 2, 1801, he was married to Elizabeth Campbell, the daughter of Col. William Campbell and Tabitha his wife, daughter of Gen. William Russell of Virginia. The newly wedded pair, hurried up from Muhlenberg, where the bride's people lived, to be ready for a camp-meeting that was to begin in the Cane Ridge congregation, during the first week in August. Barton Warren Stone was now just twenty-nine years of age, a popular and successful young minister in the most respected of the religious bodies in his community, and with every possibility of becoming a leader among his people.

The Cane Ridge revival began on Friday, August the 6th, 1801,¹ and continued for about a week.² Richard McNemar, himself one of the promoting Presbyterian ministers, stated that there was supposed to be more than twenty thousand people collected on the ground at one time; there were one hundred and thirty-five wheel-carriages, and tents in proportion to that number of people. Some writers state that on one night, there were as many as 30,000 people assembled.

Cane Ridge, just seven miles from Paris, was a beautiful spot, and well adapted to such an encampment. A large area - 200 or 300 yards in length - had been cleared and levelled off, with the preachers' stand at one end, and a tent erected that could take care of a goodly audience in case of rain. The ground near by was laid off in streets, along which the tents /

1. Barton Stone, writing when over seventy years of age, gives the time of beginning as "Thursday or Friday before the third Lord's day in August, 1801." He is assuredly mistaken in this date, for Rev. John Lyle in his Diary agrees with the date stated by Richard M'Nemar. His first entry concerning Cane Ridge is "2nd Sabbath, 8th August, 1801." He states that he arrives "yesterday" while Mr Howe was preaching, and that Mr Houston had preached on Friday.
2. McNemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 26.

tents were pitched in an organized way. The church building was reserved as the lodging place for the ministers present.¹ Because of such a large assembly of people, several ministers would be preaching at once, some of them standing on stumps or fallen logs, and holding forth in their loudest tones. This gave somewhat the impression of a disorderly arrangement, for the idle curious would be constantly drifting from one group to another, in search of a new source of excitement. The scenes at night would be such as were bound to stir the imagination. Picture the long rows of white tents, reflecting back the light from the candles and torches that were suspended from the branches of the trees - thousands of people listening spell-bound to these pioneer ministers, as their voices reverberated through the forests - the swing of the revival hymns - the impassioned exhortations - the earnest prayers - the shouts and crying out - and in various groups over the grounds, anxious friends working over those who had been "struck down." When we add to this, the lateness of the hour, and the continuous nature of the service - the strange physical exercises which were ascribed to the mysterious power of the Holy Ghost - the fervent manner of many of the preachers - and the religious zeal of the Methodists who could not keep from shouting aloud during the sermon - it is not surprising that the Rev. James Crawford, one of the first Presbyterian ministers to come to the state, estimated the number that "fell" at Cane Ridge as 3000.

Special services were held in the "Meeting-house" at various times, where the ministers and workers would go to "comfort the distressed." John Lyle says that on the first Saturday/

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 137.

Saturday evening, the people crowded the house, and there was the greatest confusion he ever saw. The weather was very hot. McNemar was trying to pray aloud for some women, but their voices were drowning his; and with the singing, praying and groaning all around - others rejoicing in salvation - he might just as well have prayed silently.¹

James Finley, whose father had preceded Barton Stone as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Cane Ridge - then a young boy, and induced by the excitement - returned to that neighbourhood to visit his friends. He gives his impression of the revival scenes:

"We arrived upon the ground, and here a scene presented itself to my mind, not only novel and unaccountable, but awful beyond description. A vast crowd, supposed by some to have amounted to 25,000, was collected together. The noise was like the roar of Niagara. The vast sea of human beings seemed to be agitated as if by a storm. I counted seven ministers, all preaching at one time, some on stumps, others in wagons, and one - the Rev. Wm. Burke, now of Cincinnati (a Methodist) - was standing on a tree which had in falling, lodged against another. Some of the people were singing, others praying, some crying for mercy in the most piteous accents, while others were shouting most vociferously. While witnessing these scenes, a peculiarly strange sensation, such as I had never felt before, came over me. My heart beat tumultuously, my knees trembled, my lip quivered, and I felt as though I must fall to the ground. A strange supernatural power seemed to pervade the entire mass of mind there collected. I became so weak and powerless that I found it necessary /

1. Lyle, Diary of Kentucky Revival, Aug. 8, 1801.

necessary to sit down. Soon after I left and went into the woods, and there I strove to rally and man up my courage..... After some time I returned to the scene of excitement, the waves of which, if possible had grown higher. The same awfulness of feeling came over me. I stepped up on a log, where I could have a better view of the surging sea of humanity. The scene that then presented itself to my mind was indescribable. At one time I saw at least five hundred swept down in a moment, as if a battery of a thousand guns had been opened upon them, and then immediately followed shrieks and shouts that rent the very heavens. My hair rose up on my head, my whole frame trembled, the blood ran cold in my veins, and I fled for the second time, and wished I had stayed at home. While I remained there my feelings became intense and insupportable. A sense of suffocation and blindness seemed to come over me, and I thought I was going to die. There being a tavern about half a mile off, I concluded to go and get some brandy, and see if it would not strengthen my nerves. When I arrived there I was disgusted with the sight that met my eyes. Here I saw about one hundred men engaged in drunken revelry, playing cards, trading horses, quarrelling, and fighting. After some time I got to the bar, and took a dram and left, feeling that I was as near hell as I wished to be, either in this or the world to come. The brandy had no effect in allaying my feelings, but, if anything, made me worse. Night at length came on and I was afraid to see my companions. I cautiously avoided them, fearing lest they should discover something the matter with me. In this state I wandered about from place to place, in and around the encampment. At times it /

it seemed as if all the sins I had ever committed in my life, were vividly brought up in array before my terrified imagination, and under their awful pressure I felt that I must die if I did not get relief Then fell the scales from my sin-blinded eyes, and I realized, in all its force and power, the awful truth that if I died in my sins I was a lost man forever Notwithstanding all this, my heart was so proud and hard that I would not have fallen to the ground for the whole of Kentucky. I felt that such an event would have been an everlasting disgrace, and put a final quietus on my boasted manhood and courage. At night I went to a barn in the neighbourhood, and creeping under the hay, spent a dismal night. I resolved in the morning, to start for home, for I felt that I was a ruined man"¹

After the Cane Ridge meeting, these revivals became wide spread and McNemar tells us that the work broke out in North Carolina, through "the instrumentality of some who went from Cane Ridge to bear testimony." It is only natural that the reports of the Cumberland revivals, and of their spread to upper Kentucky, would have created a great excitement in Carolina, for it was from that country that most of the settlers and the revival leaders, had come. Foote, in his "Sketches of North Carolina," tells us that the old friends of McGready and Hodge were "moved with great anxiety to witness the revival of God's work as they had experienced in days past, or as they now heard it was manifested in the West."² In August, 1801, a communion was held at Cross Roads, in Orange county. Nothing of special interest happened. On the last day, the pastor, Wm. Paisley, arose to dismiss the people, "intending first /

1. Finley, Autobiography, pp. 167, 168.

2. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 378.

first to say a few words expressive of his sorrow that apparently no advance had been made in bringing sinners to God." Overwhelmed with his feelings, he stood for a few moments, and then sat down. The silence was intense. The minister rose again, but before he could say a word, a young man from Tennessee, "who had been interested in the revival there, and had been telling the people of Cross Roads, during the meeting, much about the state of things in the West, raised up his hands and cried out, 'Stand still and see the salvation of God.' In a moment the silence was broken by sobs, groans and cries, rising comingled from all parts of the house." The audience stayed on. The day was spent in exhortation, singing and praying; it was midnight before the people left for their homes.¹ From this time, wonderful revivals were reported from various parts of the country. Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Church wrote in his "Journal," in May, 1802, "I have a variety of letters conveying the pleasing intelligence of the work of God in every state, district, and most of the circuits of the Union." The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, reported in 1803, that revivals were more or less to be found in the northern and eastern parts of the United States. However, in the Presbyterian church, these were not marked by the peculiar physical exercises that were to be found in the south and west.

The Presbyterians did not exactly approve of this undue excitement^s in their revivals. Finley says that "To all but the Methodists, the work was entirely strange."² Even in Kentucky and Tennessee, only a few of the Presbyterian ministers entered heart and soul into the work. They were surprised /

1. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 378, 379.
2. Finley, Autobiography, p. 365.

surprised and bewildered, but assumed that it was the work of God, even though expressed in this strange manner. Davidson in his "History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky," says that they might be compared with the "pious Jews who saw the paralytic healed by a word, and 'were amazed and glorified God, saying, we never saw it in this fashion.'" They were taken by surprise, but, far from cavilling, they hoped that this sudden and extensive religious movement would prove of a solid and salutary character. Even the spasmodic convulsions, the falling down, and sudden convictions, they regarded with interest. These good men had long mourned the deep declension of the Church, and had trembled at the triumphant ascendancy of Deism, rabid and intolerant, and they almost hoped that - inasmuch as the days of miracles were past, yet nothing short of a miracle could save religion - Providence was pleased to permit these strange spectacles in lieu of miracles, to arrest attention, and thus gain access to the power of truth."¹

There seems to be no doubt but that it is to the Methodists that the revival methods are to be traced. They themselves claim this. Redford in his "History of Methodism in Kentucky," tells us that "while the various Christian denominations bore a part, harmonizing their views, and uniting in the bonds of the gospel, preaching 'repentance toward God and faith /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 139.

The Rev. Dr. Baxter in his Letter to Dr. Alexander, published in 1802, and before referred to in a foot-note in this chapter, says:

"Upon the whole, sir, I think the revival in Kentucky among the most extraordinary that have ever visited the Church of Christ; and, all things considered, peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of that country. Infidelity was triumphant, and religion at the point of expiring. Something of an extraordinary nature seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people, who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable and futurity a dream. This revival has done it; it has confounded infidelity, awed vice into silence, and brought numbers beyond calculation under serious impressions." From "Revivals of Religion" published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia.

faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ' it cannot be denied that by the ministry and membership of the Methodist Episcopal church, this work was promoted more than by any other instrumentality. While ministers of other communions often stood appalled, and sometimes abandoned the field .. the Methodists .. stood firmly at their posts, labouring at the altars, and under God leading the Church to the loftier altitudes of Christianity."¹

Again, we quote from Davidson that we may see how frankly, if not bitterly, the Presbyterian party came to regard the Methodist activities in the Revival. He says: "It is a well known characteristic of that sect to exalt zeal above knowledge, while they object to the Presbyterians a tendency to the reverse. Whatever changes have of late years, taken place for the better, they were totally unknown at the period, and in the region, of which we write. Then, boisterous emotion, loud ejaculations, shouting, sobbing, leaping, falling and swooning, were in vogue, and were regarded as the true criteria of heartfelt religion. Early admitted to take part in the meetings of the Presbyterians, it was not long before the contagion of their wild enthusiasm completely outgrew the control of the clergy; and the people, borne upon the swelling waves of a tumultuous excitement, were satisfied with no other than the most stimulating preaching It appears evident that they soon obtained predominance, and from assistants became leaders. They succeeded in introducing their own stirring hymns, familiarly, though incorrectly, entitled "Wesley's Hymns;" and as books were scarce, the few that were obtainable were cut up, and the leaves distributed /

1. Redford, The History of Methodism in Kentucky, p. 366.

distributed so that all in turn might learn them by heart. By those who have ever reflected how great are the effects of music, and how probable it is that the ballads of a nation exert more influence than its laws, this will be acknowledged to have been itself a potent engine to give predominance to the Methodists, and to disseminate their peculiar sentiments.¹

As the Revivals became Methodist, the older Presbyterian ministers in upper Kentucky, expressed their disapproval of the work. While we find many names in the revival stories, showing that various ministers attended upon these camp-meetings, and took part in the services, the Presbyterian leaders in the work seemed to be Robert Marshall, Matthew Houston, Richard McNemar and Barton Stone. This was not surprising in the first three: Marshall was of a bold, earnest, enthusiastic nature; Houston was of a "warm and sanguine temperament": and Richard McNemar was something of the Methodist disposition.² However, Stone differed from the others. Davidson, who disapproved most heartily of the revival party, states that Stone was unlike the others "in a cooler sagacity, an appearance of tender feelings, and a bland insinuating address."³ He seems to have been of a very calm, composed nature, for in the "exercises" of the revivals, he "never participated at any time, nor under any circumstances."⁴ Elder John Rogers, who edited Stone's Autobiography, states that he had known him intimately from 1818 till the time of his death (1844), and that he "never saw him greatly excited about /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, pp. 140, 141.
2. Two Letters, 17: Davidson do. do. p. 139.
3. Davidson, do. do. do. p. 139.
Davidson also states of Stone "He was a man of placid mien, great suavity of manners, very insinuating, plausible and intriguing; and thence acquired considerable influence."
(Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 218)
4. Rogers, Stone's Autobiography, Appendix 1).

about anything." Rogers also tells that an old friend who had known Stone through the entire course of the Revival days, and who was "remarkable for accuracy and fidelity in detailing facts," testified that he "never saw him clap his hands, or heard him shout glory, or stamp his foot, ~~or~~ strike his Bible, or the board before him with his hand - that he never was the subject of the jerks, or any of the bodily exercises as they were called."¹ We get this same reflection also from Davidson, when he tells that Barton Stone, in a letter to Robert Marshall, in speaking of a certain group of people, says, "They are led away too much by noise."

Stone, while in sympathy with the revival spirit, tells us that even its warmest advocates would acknowledge that there were "many eccentricities, and much fanaticism in this excitement..... indeed it would have been a wonder, if such things had not appeared in the circumstances of that time." In his "Autobiography" he devotes an entire chapter to descriptions of the various bodily exercises which he classifies as "the falling exercise - the jerks - the dancing exercise - the barking exercise - the laughing and singing exercise, &c."²

Certainly the revival in the west was as varied in the novelties produced as was that which spread over the middle and western states under the ministry of Edwards, Tennant, Davenport, and others, during the years between 1740 and 1750. While the strange phenomena had been experienced both in Europe and America, the Revival of 1800 was striking, not so much for the exercises themselves, as ^{for} by the number of people who were affected by them.

The falling exercise was the most common, and as Stone states /

1. Rogers, Appendix, p. 1.

2. Stone, Autobiography, chap. vi.

states, was found "among all classes, the saints and sinners of every age and of every grade, from the philosopher to the clown."¹ Under a warm exhortation people would suddenly fall to the ground as if struck by lightning. Dr. Baxter, Principal of Washington Academy, was in the West during some of these revivals, and in a letter to his friend, Dr. Archibald Alexander - which was published in the London Evangelical Magazine during 1802 - he described this manifestation. "Immediately before they become totally powerless, they are seized with a general tremor, and sometimes, though not often, they utter one or two piercing shrieks in the moment of falling. Persons in this situation are affected in different degrees, sometimes, when unable to stand or sit, they have the use of their hands, and can converse with perfect composure. In other cases, they are unable to speak, the pulse becomes weak and they draw a difficult breath about once in a minute; in some instances their extremities become cold, and pulsation, breathing, and all the signs of life, forsake them for nearly an hour. Persons who have been in this situation have uniformly avowed that they felt no bodily pain - that they had the entire use of their reason and reflection - and when recovered they could relate everything that had been said or done near them, or which could possibly fall within their observation. From this it appears that their falling is neither common fainting nor a nervous affection. Indeed this strange phenomenon appears to have taken every possible turn to baffle the conjectures of those who are not willing to consider it as a supernatural work. Persons have sometimes /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 39.

sometimes fallen on their way from public worship, and sometimes after they had arrived at home; and in some cases, when they were pursuing their common business on their farms, or when retired for secret devotion..... Many professed infidels, and other vicious characters, have been arrested in this way, and sometimes at the very moment when they were uttering blasphemies against the work..... I have conversed with many who fell under the influence of comfortable feelings; and the account they gave of their exercises, while they lay entranced, was very surprising.... I have heard men of respectability assert that their manifestations of gospel truth were so clear, as to require some caution when they began to speak, lest they should use language that might induce their hearers to suppose that they had seen those things with their bodily eyes." I quote Dr. Baxter at some length, not so much to show the psychological phenomena, as the effect that these things had on the minds of even the best educated of the day. To the frontier man or woman, who was taught to expect manifestations from the Holy Spirit, these were powerful evidences. And when stories were spread abroad, of some opposer being "struck down" in the midst of his blaspheming, we can well imagine the influence for righteousness. Charles Finley tells how the leader of a band of ruffians charged his large white horse toward a circle of praying people. In an instant he fell as dead. "At this a shout went up from the religious multitude, as if Lucifer himself had fallen. I trembled, for I feared God had killed the bold and daring blasphemer."¹ When his comrades came to see what had happened, they, too, fell to the ground. For thirty hours he lay in that state, while /

1. Finley, Autobiography, pp. 364, 365.

while the christians constantly prayed over him. When he finally became normal, he gave joyous shouts of praise. The literature of the time is full of such tales. Having no knowledge of psychological abnormalities, these instances were credited to the power of the Holy Spirit, and were enough to upset the mental equilibrium of people who, for days together, were absorbed in these camp-meetings. Children were often affected, and when recovered would address the surrounding people in words and phrases much beyond their years. A person who had once fallen was apt to fall again when there was no unusual circumstances to produce the hysteria; often when perfectly normal, they would fall at the mere mention of the exercise. John Lyle tells how at the suggestion of the doctors, he had experimented with those in this condition; he applied vinegar and hartshorn, but with no visible effect.

The jerks were even more disagreeable. If only the head was affected, it would jerk backward and forward, to the left and the right, so rapidly that the features could hardly be distinguished. When the entire body was affected, the person would jerk back and forth, until they almost touched the floor with their head. When women were seized with this manifestation, hats and pins would fly in every direction, and their hair would be whipped about like a rope. As this became more common, the women adopted the custom of cutting their hair. Peter Cartwright tells that in his congregations, he had seen as many as five hundred people jerking at one time.¹ Many would get the "jerks" by hearing a description of the jerking, and without any religious influence whatever. Those who were anxious to investigate these phenomena scientifically, could not be affected by them. Franklin and others were appointed /

1. Cartwright, Autobiography, p. 49.

appointed by the king of France to investigate the "jerks" which Mesmer inflicted upon his patients. They attempted to put themselves into the proper mental attitudes so that they might philosophize upon the experience, but with all the assistance that the magnetizer could give them, it was to no avail. It was noticeable in Kentucky that the falling, the jerking, and other manifestations, were more common under the ministrations of those men who encouraged it, and considered it a work of God.

The dancing and barking exercises were merely particular manifestations of the jerks. Sometimes^{the} one jerking would utter a sound or grunt with each jerk of the head, and this was described as the barks. Stone says that this originated with an old Presbyterian preacher in East Tennessee, who had gone into the woods for his private devotions. Being seized with the jerks, he caught hold of a sapling, to prevent his falling. A wag who witnessed this incident reported that he found him "barking up a tree." That became a saying in America, and is used to this day to express the idea that one is only making unintelligible sounds-talking of something of which they know nothing. Often we hear the expression, "You are barking up the wrong tree," meaning that in mere conjecture, you have taken the wrong clue.

These manifestations were found in the Carolinas and Georgia when the revivals spread to that part of the country, and continued into a later period, and often in a more violent form. John Lyle, who was a constant attendant and a careful observer through the revivals in upper Kentucky, and kept a diary from day to day, in which he has preserved for us a most careful account, visited some of these union meetings.

As /

As an example we quote from his entry of Saturday, November the 6th, 1805, which was printed in the Virginia Religious Magazine during 1807: "I went to the Beach meeting-house, where a meeting was appointed by the Presbyterians and Methodists, called in the country, the Union Meeting. There I heard a sermon delivered by a Mr N_____, who has lately been licensed by the Cumberland Presbytery, and is said to be a man of some learning. There was nothing remarkable in his sermon except his pressing exhortations to the people to pray out, shout, dance, &c. in time of divine worship. He told them to shout, to pray aloud, or do whatever they felt an impression to do. Said he, 'I believe it will not offend God, and I am sure it will not offend me.' The people, though prior to this, seemingly careless and inattentive, were roused to action - shouted, prayed aloud, exhorted, and jerked till near the setting of the sun. I am well aware that it is impossible to describe an assembly thus agitated, so as to give those who have never seen the like, a just and adequate idea of it; I would just observe that though I had been accustomed to seeing strong and indescribable bodily agitations in the upper counties of Kentucky, and had frequently seen the jerks, yet all this observation and experience did not prepare my mind to behold without trepidation and horror the awful scenes now exhibited before me. The jerks were by far the most violent and shocking I had ever seen. The heads of the jerking patients flew with wondrous quickness from side to side in various directions, and their necks doubled like a flail in the hands of a thresher. Their faces were distorted and black, as if they were strangling, and their eyes seemed to flash horror and distraction. Numbers /

Numbers of them roared out in sounds most terrific."¹

The people of the time were divided in their opinions as to the cause of these remarkable phenomena. Some ascribed it to the miraculous activity of the Holy Spirit; others to the agency of the devil. To the sceptical "Deist" who attended and could not be affected, it appeared as hypocrisy and sham. But while there were probably some who consciously went into these extravag^{9a}ances to attract attention, many were honestly affected through the power of imagination over the nervous system.

To the majority of the religious, these were manifestations from the Holy Spirit. They believed that such things happened in the experience of the Bible saints. They would quote how Abraham fell on his face and "laughed" (Gen. 17: 17) - how David danced before the ark of Jehovah (II. Sam. 6: 14-16); they would tell of the excitement of Pentecost - of the conversion of Saul - and of the bodily prostrations of John when he received a vision from the Lord.

Jonathan Edwards had approved of manifestations during his great revivals, and had said, "I rejoice in it much more than merely in the appearance of solemn attention, and a show of affection by weeping.... To rejoice that the work of God is carried on calmly, without much ado, is in effect to rejoice that it is carried on with less power, or that there is not so much of the influence of God's Spirit."²

James McGready, in defending the work against ministerial opposers, would appeal to the great Edwards, whom they all revered. He would quote from the sermon on the Distinguishing of a Work of God, in which Edwards states: "Were God to give the /

1. Quoted in Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 412.

2. Edwards. A Narrative of Conversions in Northampton, p. 210.

the sinner a discovery of his state as it really is, he would not only fall to the ground, but sink dead upon the spot. Or if he were to let the streams of divine glory flow into the pardoned believing soul, in the same measure that they flow in upon the glorified spirits in heaven - he would not only fall to the ground, but the clay vessel would burst - and permit the soul to escape to climes of pure delight."¹ Or again, quoting Jonathan Edwards: "Were a person suspended over a deep pit filled with devouring flames, by a small cord just ready to break, would it seem strange to hear him screaming and cry out for deliverance? Then, should it seem strange to see a guilty sinner, hanging over the bottomless, flaming pit of hell by the brittle thread of life, and that thread in the hand of an angry God, - to see him cry out for mercy, in most extreme agony."²

McGready explained that so intimately is the connexion between the soul and the body, that it is nothing strange that a man when filled with "an uncommon sense of terror and divine wrath, or with an uncommon share of heavenly comfort," should find his bodily strength exhausted"; or that a guilty sinner should be so afraid of an angry God, that he would "roar aloud for mercy, when he sees hell gaping to receive him."

Modern psychological research has done much to explain these phenomena. Edward Scribner Ames of Chicago, in his "Psychology of Religious Experiences," tells us that, "in those persons who are susceptible to automatisms, and who have been taught to prize such experiences, the decisive moment may be one in which involuntary muscular reactions occur, such as clapping /

1. McGready, Works Vol. ii. p. 349.

2. McGready, Works Vol. ii. p. 350.

clapping the hands, uncontrolled laughter, shouting, gesticulations, or a thrill through the whole body. In great revival meetings, under the contagion of suggestive examples, many strange extravagances - falling, jerking, jumping, rolling, barking - have occurred."¹

The population of Kentucky and the Carolinas was dominantly Scotch-Irish. They had much of the emotionalism of the Celt. Their lives had not been easy. They had lived in the environment of fear - fear of starvation, fear of the wild beasts, and fear of the Indians. To this, in the preaching of such men as McGready, was added a very real fear of an angry God and an eternal hell, most vividly pictured. Conditions were largely the same, as when fifty years before, great emotionalism had resulted from the work of Jonathan Edwards and his co-labourers. The people were taught to expect marvellous manifestations from the Holy Spirit. They were massed together in camp meetings in such numbers, and under such conditions, that the strongest minds were apt to succumb to a suggestive influence. A frontier people would be more susceptible to these influences; but, as Davenport states, "there is no population, there are few individuals in any population, who cannot be swept from the moorings of reason and balanced judgment if brought under the mysteries and potent influence of the psychological 'crowd'."²

Because of the lack of social life in this new country all were anxious to attend the camp-meetings. Here they stayed for days under this undue excitement. Services were constantly in progress. The people took little rest and not their normal food. They became physically exhausted. The excitement /

1. Ames, The Psychology of Religious Experience, p. 261.
2. Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, p. 10.

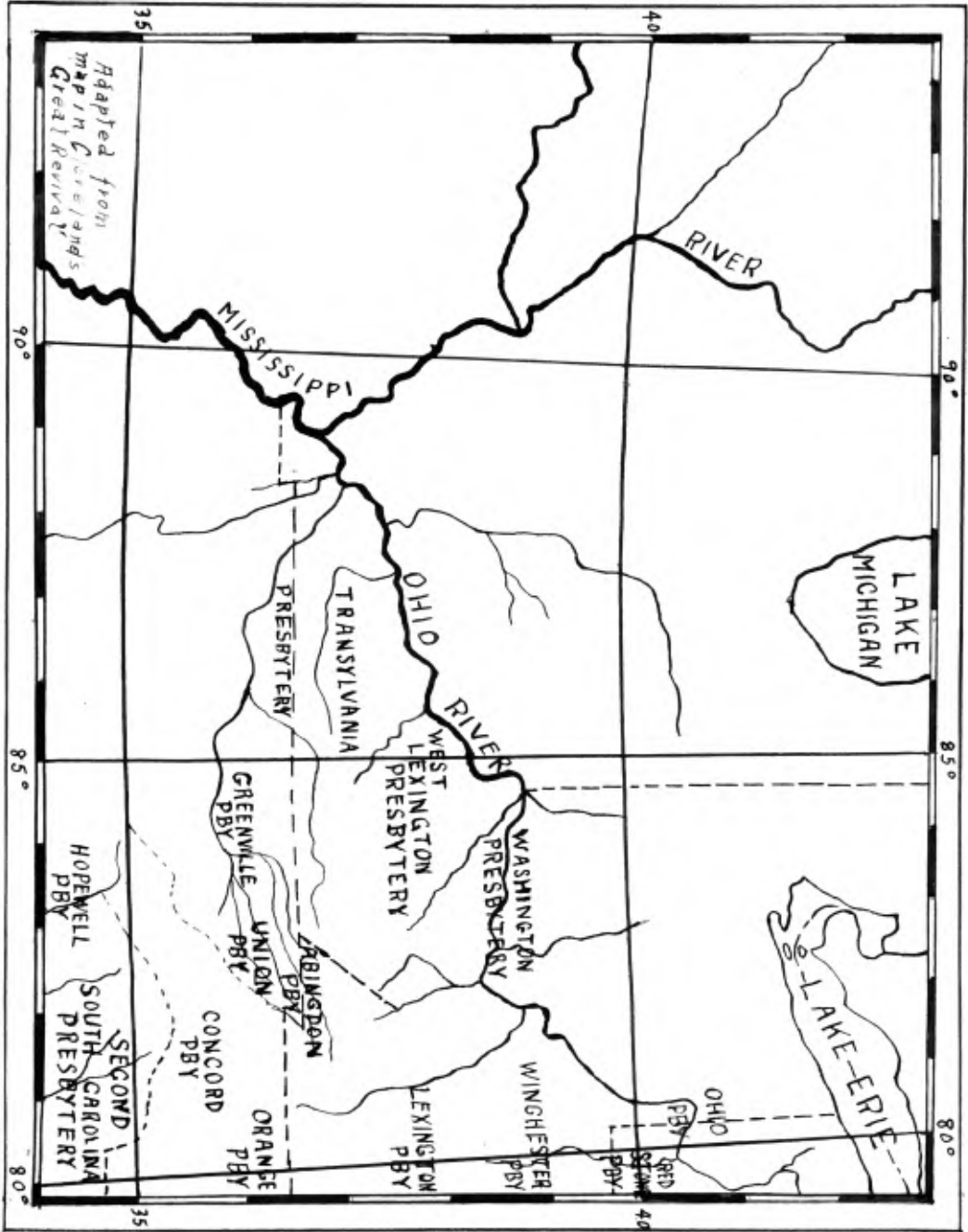
excitement did not usually begin until several services had been held. Children or women were usually the first to be affected. Those children who spoke so intelligently on things religious were always children of christian parents, who had through their lives been environed by the words and thoughts that they expressed. Having no knowledge of the power of the sub-conscious mind, or of "suggestion" or hypnotic influences, the man of that day was convinced that this was nothing less than the power of God. The scoffing of the Deist was hushed, and he, too, often became the victim of the revival influence. It is not our purpose here to enter at length into a detailed discussion of the revival phenomena, or the attempts of science to work out the explanations. That is a study quite apart.¹ It is enough for our purpose to know the effect on the people of the age in which these wonderful manifestations occurred. They believed it to be the power of the Lord; and, even though modern men reject that theory, they must at least admit that these very disorders were powerfully used to advance the Kingdom of God.

The progress of infidelity was checked, moral conditions were revolutionized, and the interest in religion renewed. Baxter, in his well-known and much quoted letter, wrote; "Upon the whole, sir, I think the revival in Kentucky among the most extraordinary that have ever visited the Church of Christ; and, all things considered, peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of that country. Infidelity was triumphant, and /

1. Two very interesting studies of the Kentucky Revival are given by Davenport in his "Primitive Traits," and by Cleveland in her "Great Revival of the West." Rev. John Lyle, in his Diary furnished ~~the~~ authentic data. He was an eye-witness to what he reports, and in the records that he made from day to day, is very definite in the cases observed, giving the names and exact symptoms of men and women, believers and opposers.

and religion at the point of expiring. Something of an extraordinary nature seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people, who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable and futurity a dream. This revival has done it; it has confounded infidelity, awed vice into silence, and brought numbers beyond calculation under serious impressions."

Illustration 3.



Approximate Location of Presbyteries in The West in 1800

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECESSION OF 1803.

During the days of the revival, a group of the Presbyterian ministers began to preach a doctrine which was quite different from that taught in the Confession of Faith. These men were Richard McNemar, John Thompson, John Dunlavy, Robert Marshall and Barton Stone: the three former lived in Ohio and were members of the Washington Presbytery; the two latter in Kentucky and ~~belonged~~ the West Lexington Presbytery. David Purviance, an Elder in the church at Cane Ridge, and a candidate proposed for the ministry on October 15, 1801, was of the same faith. Their distinguishing doctrine was, "that God loved the whole world, and sent his Son to save them, on condition that they believed in him - that the gospel was the means of salvation - but that this means would never be effectual to this end, until believed and obeyed by us - that God required us to believe in his Son, and had given us sufficient evidence in his Word to produce faith in us, if attended to by us - that sinners were capable of understanding and believing this testimony, and of acting upon it by coming to the Saviour and obeying him, and from him obtaining salvation and the Holy Spirit".¹ This was, in Kentucky, a new doctrine, for the religious leaders taught that the preaching of the word was powerless to convert the sinner until the Holy Spirit worked a miracle in the human heart. The orthodox party considered these strange views as "hostile to those held by Synod, by the General Assembly, by the church of Scotland, and in a word by every other christian society on earth".² It seems that these men began early to openly teach their /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 45.

2. Two letters written in 1804, p. 38.

their beliefs. The Rev. John Lyle, in his diary entry of August 8th, 1801, tells that Richard McNemar preached, during the Cane Ridge revival, "a discourse unintelligible to myself and others with whom I conversed about it. But it contained the substance of what Mr Stone and he call the true new gospel ... He spoke of the gospel bringing a pardon with it." Again in his entry of May 2, 1802, he says: "Stone prays and preaches without explicitly mentioning the Holy Ghost and seems to talk of faith as though we could (as Craighead affirmed) believe without the spirit". Robert Marshall, too, was much "engaged for the promotion of a certain set of new notions, with which he himself seemed to be perfectly intoxicated." ¹

The orthodox among the Presbyterians did not approve of these doctrines, although they did not openly oppose them at first. Perhaps they failed to get the full significance and the trend of the new teaching. However, the fact that the revival preachers omitted the doctrines of election and reprobation as explained in the Confession of Faith, and proclaimed a free salvation to all men, caused their preaching to appear different from that common among Presbyterians. Murmuring arose throughout the country, but the ministers and people treated each other with forbearance. It is difficult after controversy has become bitter, to get an unbiased view from those of either party. Barton Stone says that, although they objected to the neglect of the Confession of Faith, which was "fast gathering dust", they winked at the supposed errors through fear of unpopularity, or with the hope that by keeping still, they might get the Baptists and Methodists, who were uniting with them, to become Presbyterians. ² Richard McNemar tells us that the Calvinists /

1. Two Letters written in 1804, p. 18.

2. Stone, Autobiography, p 45.

Calvinists, "rose up and quarrelled with the work, because it did not come to pass that the subjects of it were willing to adopt their soul-stupefying creed".¹ Later events proved that many among the ministers were in sympathy with the ~~hearings~~, or were at least not willing to oppose them openly.

But with whatever motives, the orthodox rose up in defence of the confession. They began to emphasise the decidedly Calvinistic doctrines. This opened afresh the old controversies with the Methodists. Party spirit was revived, and the union meetings in upper Kentucky were discontinued.

Direct opposition began in the congregation of Richard McNemar at Cabin Creek. Three of his ruling elders laid before the Presbytery of Washington, at Springfield, a lengthy letter dated November 3, 1801, and containing complaints and charges against their pastor. They complain that "some time last winter he began, as we believe, in his preaching, to deviate from the doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian church, which we believe to be perfectly consistent with the word of God".² They talked with him privately, objecting to his teachings, but with no effect other than to make him more zealous in propagating those sentiments which they opposed. They add: "the people, over whom we considered ourselves guardians, were some of them sucking in those ideas, which we believed to be dangerous and pernicious. Others of them, from a sense of those dangers, were urging us to take some measures to prevent the people from being imposed upon".³ The time of Presbytery being far distant, they arranged for a week-day meeting to publicly vindicate their cause, and in the presence/

1. McNemar, The Kentucky Revival 27.

2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p3; Stone Autobiography, p149.

3. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p4; Stone Autobiography, p150.

presence of the Rev. John Dunlavy and two of his elders, proposed to Rev. Richard McNemar that "if he would profess to believe in the doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian church, and propagate and defend the same, and no other in contradiction to them, and be ruled by the book of discipline, that we would then bury all our former differences".¹ But he replied that "he would be bound by no system but the Bible; and that he believed that systems were detrimental to the life and power of religion".²

Attached to their story of the difficulties in the Cabin Creek church, was a statement of the doctrines which they considered objectionable. These all have to do with faith and its working in the regeneration of the sinner. They object that he taught "that faith is the first thing God requires of a sinner; and that he had no idea of him praying but in faith"; that no other convictions are necessary to authorize the soul to believe, than those which arise from the testimony of God, in his word". They also charge that "he has expressly declared, at several times, that Christ has purchased salvation for all the human race, without distinction"; that Christ is by office the Saviour of all men. "He has expressly declared that a sinner has power to believe in Christ at any time"; and consequently has as much power to act faith as to act unbelief.³

However, the Presbytery disregarded the petition, and on November 11, 1801, after reading the letter and other papers containing these charges, "concluded it irregular to take any further notice of them; as no person, at present, proposed to substantiate/

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 5; Stone Autobiography, p. 150.
2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 5; Stone Autobiography, p. 150.
3. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, pp. 4-8.

substantiate the charges stated in them".¹ This action tended to quiet the opposition; finally on March 20th, 1802, in the presence of the Rev. John E. Finley, McNemar and these three elders signed an agreement to bury all their differences and unite in communion for the future.

Soon after this matter was satisfactorily concluded, Richard McNemar was called to take charge of the church at Turtle-creek. Here again there was a disturbance over the doctrines, described by the vague phrase "free-will". This time the objector was again one of the elders, who was a personal friend of the Rev. Kemper, and was supposed to have been urged on by him. Reference was made to this difference, at the meeting of the Presbytery in Cincinnati on October 6, 1802. An elder from Mr Kemper's congregation entered a verbal complaint against Mr McNemar as a propagator of false doctrines, but adding that this was only hearsay with him, for he had never heard that minister preach a sermon. McNemar opposed the measure as out of order, not being stated in writing. However the Presbytery proceeded to examine the man accused of heresy - of holding "tenets hostile to the standard of the Presbyterian church, and subversive of the fundamental doctrines contained in the sacred Scriptures" - "on the doctrines of particular election, human depravity, the atonement, the application of it to sinners, the necessity of a divine agency in the application, and the nature of faith". They decided that Richard McNemar held these doctrines in a sense, "specifically and essentially different from that sense in which Calvinists generally believe them; and that his ideas on these subjects are strictly Arminian, though clothed in such expressions, and handed out in such manner, as to keep the body of /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, 8: Stone, Autobiography, p153.

of the people in the dark, and lead them insensibly into Arminian principles; which are dangerous to the souls of men and hostile to the interests of all true religion."¹

The complainants seem not to have been satisfied with the action, for again in April, 1803., the Presbytery is presented with a petition by "Wm. Lamme and others" - fourteen subscribers in all, from widely scattered congregations - asking that they re-examine Mr McNemar and that they include in the examination the Rev. John Thompson. This examination to be on what the petitioners called free will or Arminian principles. The Presbytery considered the petition, and determined that it was improper to go into the examination of Mr McNemar and Mr Thompson on the prayer of said petition, as being out of order.

At this same session a call from the congregation of Turtle creek, signed by about sixty persons, for the whole of Mr McNemar's time, was presented through the Presbytery, and accepted by him. It is easy to see that although there were those throughout the churches who objected to the preaching of Richard McNemar, these objections did not seem to be general, or considered as very serious by the Washington Presbytery.

In the meanwhile the Synod of Kentucky had been erected. In 1786, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which was then the highest court in the church in the United States, had formed the Presbytery of Transylvania composed of six ministers (Rice Rankin, Crawford, Templin, Craighead and McClure). It embraced the whole district of Kentucky, including the Cumberland river settlements, with a large country extending through what are now the states of Tenn. and Miss. and reaching northward into Ohio, Ind. and Ill. In the year 1789, the single Synod of New York and /

1. From Minutes of Washington Presbytery., Copied in Apology 10, 11.

and Philadelphia was cut up into four Synods, and these constituted the first General Assembly in the U.S. The Presbytery of Transylvania was, at this division, assigned to the newly erected Synod of Virginia.¹ By 1798, the Transylvania Presbytery had become so large and prosperous that West Lexington and Washington were erected out of its Eastern and Western sections, making the Kentucky river its eastern boundary.² The first meeting of the Synod of Kentucky was held, according to the direction of the General Assembly, in the Presbyterian church, in Lexington, October 14th, 1802. Father David Rice was the chairman and Robert Marshall was chosen clerk. The Synod was composed of the three presbyteries of Transylvania, West Lexington, and Washington; and with thirty-seven ministers within its bounds.³ At this first session, the Synod voted to further divide the Transylvania Presbytery, forming from its lower or southern part, the Cumberland Presbytery - this to consist of Thos. Craighead, Terah Templin, James Balch, James McGready, Wm. Hodge, John Bowman, Wm. McGee, John Rankin, Samuel Donald and Samuel McAdow.⁴ This new Presbytery as will be noted /

1. Centennial of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, pp. 15-16.
2. History of the Synod of Kentucky., p.4.
3. The membership of the ministers, was divided as follows:-
 1. Transylvania - David Rice, Samuel Finley, Matthew Houston, Samuel Robertson, Archibald Cameron, Wm. Mahon, John Howe, James Vance, Jeremiah Abel, Thomas Craighead, Terah Templin, James Balch, James McGready, Wm. Hodge, John Rankin, Samuel Donald and Samuel McAdow.
 2. W.Lexington - James Crawford, Samuel Shannon, Isaac Tull, Robert Marshall, James Blyth, James Welch, Joseph P. Howe, Samuel Rannels, John Lyle, Wm. Robinson and Barton Stone.
 3. Washington - James Kemper, John P. Campbell, Richard McNemar, John Thompson, John Dunlavy, John E. Finley, Matthew G. Wallace.
4. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Oct. 14, 1802.

noted, included all the revival leaders in the Cumberland country and soon proved to be a hot-bed of unorthodox teachings, which caused the Synod of Kentucky to regret its formation.

At the second meeting of the Kentucky Synod, in Lexington, Sept. 6, 1803, the troubles over the doctrines taught by Richard McNemar, were brought to the attention of that body. On the second day committees were appointed to examine the minutes of the different Presbyteries belonging to the Synod. On Thursday, Sept. 8th, the committee appointed to examine the book of the Washington Pby., reported that the Presbytery "acted contrary to the constitution of our church, and the interests of religion in casting the petition of Lamme and others under the table, and taking no further notice of it, seeing the said petition implicated a charge of a most serious and important nature. If the charges were false, the Presbytery ought to have investigated and found it so, and have dealt with the complainants according to the calumny, or imprudence of their conduct... .. This appears to us to have been necessary to clear Messrs. McNemar and Thompson from the odium cast on their characters ... But on the other hand, as it appeared from a previous orderly examination of Mr McNemar that he held Arminian tenets, the Presbytery ought, as guardians of the churches under their care, to have entered on an inquiry into those important matters laid before them. Your Committee also reports that we think it was improper and irregular in said Presbytery to present a call to Mr McNemar whose religious opinions stood condemned on their minutes".¹

The session, after much discussion resolved that the Synod should determine, whether the Presbytery of Washington were in order: /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept, 8. 1803.

order:

1. "In making appointments for Mr McNemar at the same session at which they had taken a vote of censure on some of his tenets?"..
2. "When they rejected the petition of Lamme and others" implicating a serious charge against Messrs McNemar and Thompson? ...
3. "In presenting a call to Mr McNemar while he lay under a vote of censure by a preceding session?" ¹

It is significant to note here that the sentiment was not all against the men under fire. The count of votes, particularly on the first of these points, is pretty strong proof of the difficulties with which the orthodox - as John Poage Campbell states, the thinking part of the Synod had to contend. The ayes were seven - the nays 10, the non-liquids, four.²

Imagination can easily picture for us the tense state of affairs in the Synod. The spirit of division had been growing for some years. Out of the excitement and expectation of the revival days, had developed bitter feelings and differences on points of doctrine. But the church was weak in this frontier land; the leaders were few - thirty-seven ministers in all; great distances and poor travelling facilities made of them a world apart from their eastern brethren. Ill could they afford a division in their ranks. These men had in their hands the fate of the Presbyterian church in Kentucky. Every advance had been made at great sacrifice. However, each party seems to have placed conviction above friendships and the exigencies of the moment. Richard McNemar and John Thompson, two of their number, were threatened with trial for heresy. Every brother-minister would be vitally interested, and either for or against this /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept. 9. 1803.
 2. Evangelical Record, Vol ii, p. 59; Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept. 9, 1803.

this action.

It is significant to notice that on Saturday, the day after the Synod had condemned the action of Washington Presbytery, the roll call gives as absent Thompson, McNemar, Marshall, Stone and Dunlavy.¹ Barton Stone says that the others of the group^{of} ministers could anticipate their fate by the decision of the Synod in McNemar's case, for it had been hinted to them that they would be attended to next. They waited anxiously to see what the trend of affairs would be. During a recess of Synod they withdrew to a garden "to ask counsel of the Lord, and consult one another". They decided to protest against the decision in McNemar's case and declare their independence from the jurisdiction of the Synod, but not from the communion of the church.

While these five ministers were plotting in the garden, the session of Synod was considering the fates of those men who were said to have departed from the faith of the Presbyterian church. They resolved to "enter on the examination or trial of Messrs McNemar and Thompson according to the prayers of petitioners and the charge therein stated."² While the Synod was considering the wisdom and propriety of adopting the above resolution, Messrs Marshall, Stone, McNemar, Thompson and Dunlavy appeared in the meeting and presented through Mr Marshall a paper which he stated to be a protest against the proceedings of the Synod in the affair of Washington Presbytery, and a declaration that they withdrew themselves from under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky.³ This paper, presented through the Moderator, was read and was as follows:-

Rev'd Sir, /

1. John Dunlavy was a brother-in-law of Richard McNemar. (Campbell, "Pelagion Detected" p. 58)
2. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept. 10, 1803.
3. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept. 10, 1803.

Rev'd Sir,

"We the underwritten members of Washington and West Lexington Presbyteries hereby enter our protest against the proceedings of Synod in approbating that minute of the Washington Presbytery, which condemned the sentiments of Mr McNemar, as dangerous to the souls of men and hostile to the interests of all true religion, and the proceedings therewith connected; and for reasons which we now offer, we declare ourselves no longer members of your Rev'd body or under your jurisdiction, or that of your Presbyteries.

1st. We conscientiously believe that the above minute which you have sanctioned, gives a distorted and false representation of Mr McNemar's sentiments, and that the measure was calculated to prevent the influence of truth of the most interesting nature.

2ndly. We claim the privilege of interpreting the Scripture by itself according to Sect. 9th, Chap. 1st. of the Confession of Faith, and we believe that the Supreme Judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures. But from the disposition which the Synod manifests, it appears to us that we cannot enjoy the privilege, but must be bound up to such explanations of the word of God as preclude all further inquiry after truth.

3rdly. We remain inviolably attached to the doctrines of grace which through God have been mighty in every revival of religion since the Reformation. These doctrines, however, we believe are in a measure darkened by some expressions in the Confession of Faith, which are used as the means of strengthening sinners in /

in their unbelief, and subjecting many of the pious to a spirit of bondage. When we attempt to obviate these difficulties, we are charged with departing from our Standards, viewed as disturbers of the peace of the Church, and threatened to be called to account. The proceedings of Presbytery have furnished the world with ample encouragement to proceed in this mode of opposition and the sanction which those proceedings have now received from your Rev'd body cuts off every hope of relief from that quarter, from which we have at least faintly expected it.

We therefore feel ourselves shut up to the necessity of relieving you from the disagreeable task of receiving petitions from the public, and ourselves from being prosecuted before a judge (the Confession of Faith) whose authority to decide we cannot in conscience acknowledge.

Rev'd Sir, our affection for you as brethren in the Lord, is and we hope shall ever be the same; nor do we desire to separate from your communion, or exclude you from ours; We ever wish to bear and forbear, in matters of human order, or opinions, and unite our joint supplications with yours for the increasing effusions of that divine Spirit which is the bond of peace. With this disposition of mind, we bid you adieu until through the providence of God it seems good to your Rev'd body to adopt a more liberal plan respecting human creeds and confessions.

Done in Lexington, Ky.
September 10th, 1803.

Robert Marshall
John Dunlavy
Richard McNemar
Barton W. Stone
John Thompson " 1

This protest was altogether unexpected by the Synod and "produced very unpleasant feelings; and a profound silence for a few minutes ensued."² After the paper was read, the seceding ministers /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept 10th, 1803.
2. Stone, Autobiography, p47.

ministers retired and went to the house of a friend in the town.

The introduction of the above letter put a sudden check to the examining business. The secession of Robert Marshall left vacant the office of stated clerk, and Rev. James Welsh was elected to take his place. The Synod did not however give up their stand for orthodoxy, for they immediately passed two resolutions: one, that a letter be sent to Lamme and the other petitioners assuring them "that Synod do strictly adhere to the doctrines of our Confession of Faith"; the other, that a Committee write the General Assembly, asking leave to print 1000 copies from Aitken's Confession of Faith, for the use of Kentucky.¹

However, the Synod appointed a Committee consisting of David Rice, Matthew Houston, and James Welsh, to converse with the five men who had withdrawn and "to labour to bring them back to the Standards and doctrines of our church, and report on Monday morning."² The Committee quickly followed to the house where the former group had gone, and had, with them, a very friendly conversation on the entire question, the result of which was that³ Matthew Houston became convinced that the doctrines the Seceders preached was true.⁴ Father Rice, who was loved by all of these men and on whose influence the Synod chiefly depended to reclaim them, "urged one argument worthy of record; it was this - that every departure from Calvinism was an advance to atheism. The grades named by him were, from Calvinism /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept 10th 1803.
2. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept 10th 1803.
3. On April 10, 1805, Houston sent a letter to Transylvania Presbytery, stating that he "had relinquished the faith of our church and declined the authority of our judicatories." (M.T.P., April 10, 1805). He was promptly suspended on the evidence of this letter; and at the meeting of Presbytery in the autumn, he was "solemnly deposed from the exercise of all the functions of the gospel ministry." (M.T.P., Oct. 1, 1805.)
4. Stone, Autobiography, p. 47.

Calvinism to Arminianism - from Arminianism to Pelagianism - from Pelagianism to deism - from deism to atheism".¹

On Monday September 12th the Committee reported that Marshall, Stone, McNemar, Thompson and Dunlavy have agreed that they will, as a body, confer with Synod on points of doctrine. They will answer questions proposed to them in writing, but the whole of the questions must be given at one time. They will also give their answers in writing. The Synod voted against this proceeding. As a substitute they appointed a second committee to "enquire of them what objections they have to our Confession of Faith, or to any part of it, which they, by their remonstrance declared, they cannot in conscience submit to be judged by";² and that they transmit said objections in writing the next morning or before the Synod rises.

To the first committee - Rice, Houston and Welsh the seceders had stated that they would return and be under the care and jurisdiction of Synod, provided they could be constituted into one Presbytery. In that capacity charges respecting doctrine or otherwise, might be brought against them, and they could be criminated, as a Presbytery, if their sentiments were proved false, when brought to the word of God as the standard. They were thus willing to stand trial. No answer was sent to this proposal, but there was considerable debating in the Synod on the question, and also on the matter of conferring by writing. The Synod was not willing to confer with these men as a body, because they would not recognize the legality of this body. In the "Apology" which the seceding ministers soon published, they remark: "Time has a wonderful power in legalizing bodies! A few /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 47.

2. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Sept. 12, 1803.

few years have legalized the self created bodies of Luther, Calvin and all the different sects of Christians, since the Reformation; A few more years may legalize our self-created body, in the estimation of Synod, when we hope they will condescend to confer with us, and unity be restored."¹

These men had withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Kentucky Synod, but they had no desire to leave the Presbyterian church. They felt that they must either give up their ecclesiastical connections, or the truths which were even dearer to them. Under these circumstances they, then and there committed themselves into a Presbytery, as will be seen from the minutes of this first meeting: "We the above named Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Richard McNemar, Barton W. Stone, and John Thompson, having entered the above protest, and withdrawn from under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky, and of the Presbyteries to which we formerly belonged, do now formally unite in a body, as a Presbytery, to be known by the name of the 'Presbytery of Springfield'."² After constituting with prayer, and choosing a moderator and clerk, they draft the following circular letter, to the congregations formerly under their care:

"Dear Brethren:- By the time this letter shall have reached you, you will, no doubt, have heard that a separation has taken place between us and the Synod of Kentucky, and the Presbyteries to which we formerly belonged. The reasons which induced us to withdraw, you see in the above copy of our protest, which reasons we intend more fully to unfold, as soon as we can obtain the minutes of Synod, and those of the Washington Presbytery, which are referred to in said protest. But lest you should form an improper opinion of the nature, or kind of separation, we take the liberty of giving you a short statement of /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 30.
2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 31.

of it. We do not desire, nor do we consider ourselves to be separated from the Presbyterian church, as Christians, whether ministers or people; we still wish to continue united to them in the bonds of love; we will admit to communion as formerly, and desire to be admitted. It is not our design to form a party. We have only withdrawn from the jurisdiction of those bodies with which we stood connected, because we plainly perceived that, while that connection subsisted, we could not enjoy the liberty of reading, studying, and explaining the word of God for ourselves without constant altercation and strife of words to no profit.

"We pass no uncharitable censures on those reverend bodies for their strict adherence to their standards; but we are accountable to God for ourselves, so we must act for ourselves in the sight of God; and can own no standard of faith but the word of God; and we desire ever to look to him for his spirit of wisdom to lead us into all truth. Brethren, we wish to pay all due deference to the Confession of Faith, and other writings of our pious fathers; but we plead a privilege, which is granted in the Confession of Faith, chap. 1, sec 9, 10, as we mentioned in our protest; that the infallible rule of interpreting Scripture, is not the Confession of Faith, nor any human writings whatever, but the Scripture itself. On this ground we have attempted, and still mean to proceed, to hold forth the word of life, peace and pardon to sinners, through the blood of the everlasting covenant. But as we are, by some, suspected of having departed from the true doctrines of the gospel, we design as soon as convenient, to explain to the public our views of the gospel. In the meantime, we are determined, by the grace of God, to preach the gospel, and administer ordinances as formerly. 'And now brethren we commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which /

which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified. Farewell."¹

Late in the evening of this same day (September 12, 1803), and after the "Springfield Presbytery" had adjourned, they were handed the resolution of Synod which had been passed a few hours earlier, asking that they transmit, in writing, their objections to the Confession of Faith. The next morning they met again, and drew up the following letter addressed to the Moderator of Synod:

"Reverend and dear Sir:- We received your resolution, from a member of your committee, requesting us to give you a statement of our objections to some parts of the Confession of Faith. We have taken the matter into consideration, and resolved to comply. But it is out of our power to state them to you, as soon as you require: but will, without fail, give you a statement at your next annual session. In the meantime, we desire to proceed no farther than circumstances may require. Brethren, you are in our hearts, to live and die with you; our hearts are bound to you in love. We hope your intentions, in doing what you have done, were good; but we still believe as stated in our protest. In the meantime let us unite our prayers to our common Lord and Father, that he would in his kind providence heal our divisions, and unite us more closely in the bonds of love. We remain, dear brethren, as ever, united to you in heart and affection.

Robert Marshall
John Dunlavy
Richard McNemar
Barton W. Stone
John Thompson." ²

This letter was sent forward to the Synod as soon as possible /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, pp. 31, 32.
2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 33.

possible and on the same day of the meeting. However the Synod did not wait for their answer, but passed the following vote of suspension from the ministry:

"Whereas Messrs. Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Richard McNemar, Barton W. Stone and John Thompson, have declared themselves no longer members of our body or under our jurisdiction or that of our Presbyteries, and whereas it appears from their remonstrance laid before this Synod, that they have seceded from the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and no more wish to be united with us, until we adopt a more liberal plan respecting human creeds and confessions and whereas a committee has been appointed seriously and affectionately to converse with the above members, in order if possible to reclaim them to the doctrines and standards of our church; which committee has proved entirely unsuccessful and moreover whereas said gentlemen came into Synod and informed us that they now constitute themselves into a separate Presbytery and have refused to comply with every solicitation to return to their duty, but persist in their schismatical disposition. Therefore, resolved that Synod do and they hereby do solemnly suspend Messrs Marshall, Dunlavy, McNemar, Stone, and Thompson from all the exercises of all the functions of the gospel ministry until sorrow and repentance for the above schisms be manifested, leaving it however with the several Presbyteries to which the above members may have belonged, to restore them as soon as they give satisfactory evidence of repentance; and their congregations are hereby declared vacant."¹

A Committee of Synod was appointed to draft a circular letter to the churches explaining the "unhappy division" and to state the principles upon which the five brethren seceded, and to /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod. Sept. 13, 1803.

to enclose any other points necessary for the peace and unity of the church. Certain ministers were appointed to visit the congregations where these seceding brethren had statedly preached, and to explain to the people the conduct of the Synod. After these resolutions were passed, the Minutes record that "a letter was then received from the suspended members, and having been read, was ordered to be filed among the papers of Synod".¹ The letter was probably discussed, but no action was taken; this was the last item recorded before the adjournment to meet the next year at Danville, Kentucky. Thus the second meeting of the Synod of Kentucky resulted in an open breach in the Presbyterian Church, when they had intended but to heal the dissensions in their ministerial ranks.

West Lexington Presbytery at their next session, one month later, dropped from their records the names of Robert Marshall and Barton W. Stone, but, at the same time, appointed certain ministers to converse with them "in order if possible to reclaim them to the standards and doctrines" of the church².

The Presbytery seemed willing to leave no stone unturned, to bring back their two lost brethren and heal the division in the church. With only eleven ministers in their group, they could little afford to lose two of the most prominent among them. It is significant, also, that though Marshall and Stone were both openly preaching their views, as testified by Lyle in his Diary, there is no criticism, or suggestions of heresy trials, in the minutes of the West Lexington Presbytery. They determined to appeal to the General Assembly, and appointed a committee to write that body "stating the unhappy rent which has been made in the churches under the care of the Synod of Kentucky. Stating also in general the cause of said rent, praying the interference of /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod. Sept. 13 1803.
2. Minutes of the West Lexington Presbytery, October 14th 1803.

of that Rev'd Body to prevent as far as possible the mischief which might otherwise arise from said division."¹ We find also recorded in the minutes of this session of Presbytery, the receipt of a letter from David Purviance, declaring himself no longer under their care. Purviance has already been mentioned as having been, from the first, in sympathy with the teachings of Barton Stone and the other ministers of like suasion. He was a man of prominence in the political life of Kentucky as well as in the Presbyterian church - having for several terms, served in the legislature of that state. He, with several other elders, was absent from the Synod when the five ministers drew up their protest of secession, and it is probable that he was with them in all their councils, for he immediately joined with them in the new party.

This trouble in the Synod produced great commotion throughout the churches in Kentucky. The suspended ministers, "possessing considerable popular powers, and aided by an enthusiasm in religion, perhaps unexampled in the history of the church,"² had the sympathy of the majority of the people, Discord reigned everywhere; not only churches were divided, but families. Stone tells us that "those who before had lived in harmony and love, were now set in hostile array against each other. What scenes of confusion and distress! not produced by the Bible, but by human authoritative creeds, supported by sticklers for orthodoxy. My heart was sickened and effectually turned against such creeds, as nuisances of religious society, and the very bane of Christian unity."³ Davidson, in his Presbyterian History /

1. Minutes of West Lexington Presbytery, October 14, 1803.
2. Campbell, Evangelical Record, Vol ii p. 64.
3. Stone, Autobiography, p. 48.

History of Kentucky tells us that "the five suspended ministers, already highly popular, exerted themselves to the utmost to attract the multitude; and appealing to their sympathy as persecuted persons, endeavoured to convert the censures of the Church into so much additional capital in their own favour."¹ It seemed that the entire Presbyterian Church in that part of the country would follow them. Scarcely a Presbyterian congregation in Kentucky and Ohio escaped unhurt - and many were completely annihilated.²

By the end of January, 1804, some four months after their suspension by Synod, the "Springfield Presbytery" had printed in Lexington their promised explanation as to their reasons for withdrawal, and their objections to the Confession of Faith. This was a book of 116 pages, entitled "An Apology for renouncing the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky. To which is added, A compendious View of the Gospel, and a few remarks on the Confession of Faith". This produced a great effect not only in the Presbyterian church, but in the entire christian community: it was quickly republished by the Methodists in Virginia,³ except the remarks on creeds.⁴

In this "Apology" the Seceders stated, at length, their objections to the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, and against all authoritative confessions and creeds drawn up by fallible men. They expressed their abandonment of all written creeds, and their intention to take the Bible, and the Bible alone, as the rule of faith and practice.

John Poage Campbell, the most brilliant Presbyterian leader in Kentucky at this time, as well as the most tireless opponent of this new movement, writing in 1813, for the "Evangelical Record /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky p.194.

2. Campbell, Evangelical Record, Vol ii p.64.

3. It was also reprinted in Georgia. See Stone's letter dated April 2, 1805. (McNemar p. 86)

4. Stone, Autobiography, p. 49.

Record and Western Review," the Presbyterian journal of which he was Editor, states that "according to this publication (Apology), and a variety of other evidence both printed and verbal, these men were at that time distinguished by their:-

- "1. Denying the doctrine of absolute and unconditional decrees.
- "2. Maintaining that Christ died equally for all men, and that all men, notwithstanding a considerable corruption of nature, had still, independent of any special influence of the Holy Spirit, sufficient power to believe, and
- "3. That all creeds and confessions ought to be rejected; and the Bible without any comment, or explanation, acknowledged as the only bond of union and church-fellowship among christians."¹

It must be remembered that the ministers of the "Springfield Presbytery" were rebels, against the then-commonly taught doctrine that man could not possibly believe and be saved until the Father, through His Holy Spirit, should work a miracle in the heart. In opposition to this doctrine, they wrote in their "Apology" that "the word of truth is the means of enlightening, quickening, regenerating and sanctifying the soul. But how does the gospel effect these mighty works? We answer, through faith Here we find the word of God worketh effectually in believers; but it cannot work in unbelievers, because of unbelief ... It may remain in the Bible till the day of our death; unless we believe, it will no more effect a change in our hearts than seed will grow while it lies dry in the garner. God does not operate upon us as upon dead matter. He might speak a stone into an angel, but he will not do it. He deals with man as a rational creature. The strongest motives are presented to our understandings; but they cannot move, excite, or influence us, unless /

1. Campbell, Evangelical Record, Vol ii, 213.

unless we believe; in other words, they are no motives at all without faith."¹ "The word of truth is not only the foundation of faith, but it has sufficient evidence in itself to produce faith."² ... "Will any say that faith depends on salvation? No; for the Scripture every where asserts, that salvation follows faith. 'He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.'.... Does it depend upon the Spirit's powerful, enlightening, quickening and sanctifying influences? No; for we receive the Spirit through faith. Gal. iii. 14. 'That we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith'³ As therefore, faith precedes the reception of the gospel provisions, it cannot be a part of those provisions in any other sense, than as it is a medium of divine appointment, through which we receive them. If it belongs to the provisions of the gospel, then it is absolutely out of the creature's reach. And would God damn a soul for not having faith when he had it in his own hand to give or withhold at sovereign pleasure? With equal propriety might he damn an individual for not creating a world. For, according to this theory, the one is as much above his power as the other. Faith is no where promised, but always represented as that through which the promises are received".⁴

In their "Remarks on the Confession of Faith" they contend that they hold those doctrines, in which all Christians are united, when they enjoy the life and power of religion", but admit that their "views on many points are very different from that system which by some is called orthodox".⁵ "We do not hold with some, that sinners cannot believe the gospel until they are regenerated /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 66.
2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 69.
3. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 72.
4. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 73.
5. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 88.

regenerated, or experience some power exterior and distinct from the word. We view men as fit subjects of the gospel dispensation; capable of believing the word, and in the strength of this faith, able to come to the throne of grace." ¹ They openly deny the doctrine of election: "We cannot believe that he is such a sovereign, that he can offer what he had not to give, - deceive his creature, by telling him in his revealed will, that he has no pleasure in his death, ... when, at the same time, it is his secret will and pleasure to pass him by in his sins, that his justice may be glorified in his condemnation. Neither do we believe he can mock his misery by offering relief, which the poor wretch cannot possibly receive, and then condemn him to eternal misery, for not receiving what he could not; and what God himself upon principles of law and justice, could not give him, being wholly and exclusively provided for others."²

... "Because, then, we cannot attribute to the best and most merciful God those properties of a most merciless tyrant, we are charged with denying divine sovereignty. This kind of sovereignty, we desire never to know; because such knowledge would destroy that sweet warmth, and melting of soul we feel by viewing the glorious and amiable character he gives of himself in his plain revealed will, as altogether love; (1 John iv, 8,16) and punishing from necessity only those, who reject and despise his love."³ ... "they speak of an elect number, who are yet strangers to Christ, dead in sin, and servants of the devil. Now we are wholly ignorant of these elect people ... We believe God has an elect, a chosen people on ^{the} earth, and by examining their character in Scripture, we find they are the same with believers, /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 90.

2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 92

3. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 92.

believers, who have the Spirit of Christ."¹

The "Springfield Presbytery" objected not to creeds as statements of faith, but to making such a statement the "standard" of the church, for, they said: "This ... binds the members of that particular society to understand the Scriptures as stated and explained in the Creed, on pain of being accounted unsound in the faith, or excommunicated from the church ... The people have the privilege of reading the Scriptures to prove the standard to be right; but no privilege to examine the Scripture, and prove it to be wrong. For if any should do this, he forfeits his privilege in that church, and must be cast out as a heretic. Or if he chooses to withdraw, he must be excommunicated as a schismatic; and all men warned to guard against him as a dangerous person."² However much these men objected to certain features in the Confession, they contended that they "would have borne with it, provided its warm friends would have borne with us."³ Their objection was only to making a creed absolutely authoritative. They contended that those particular doctrines of the Confession, which they had neglected in their preaching ~~and~~ formed no part of the true orthodox faith; but were only "notions floating in the head".⁴ They believed that fallible men have no right to legislate on speculative divinity. To a creed as a general statement of the belief of a religious group they made no objection.

While this "Apology" was being drawn up and printed the Synod was not, on their part, idle. They published a "Circular Letter" written by Rev. John Lyle, which gave to the churches an /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 93.
2. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 99.
3. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 114.
4. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 89.

an able exposition of the grounds of the Synod's action. It consisted of thirty-six pages with a story of the happenings, and extracts from the minutes; it argued the question of jurisdiction, and the pernicious nature of schism.¹ The pulpits, throughout the country, echoed the story, and the denunciations by the orthodox. This publicity only tended to advertise the new schism and spread abroad their views. Oftentimes these arguments were so bitterly stated, that many seriously minded people became offended with the ministers and turned to the new party, considering them the more christian.

The ministers and leaders in the Presbyterian church, at that time, blamed Robert Marshall for this division in the bounds of Kentucky Synod. He was forty-three years of age, while the other four were younger men. He was one of the first ministers in the state, coming to Kentucky in 1790, when there were but five ordained Presbyterian ministers in the West. He had, from the beginning, been prominent in the affairs of the church - being clerk of the Synod of Kentucky. This condemnation is best shown in "Two Letters, Written by a Gentleman to his Friend in Kentucky" and dated February 25th and March 8th 1804; this was called forth by the appearance of the Springfield "Apology". The writer denounces Robert Marshall for shifting from doctrines and practices which he had upheld for twelve or fifteen years, and "this without a blush"; and "to crown the whole, when you see him hastily step out and take three or four of his younger brethren by the hand, and become their leader in conducting a new party, the distinguishing doctrines of which party are highly pleasing to corrupted nature,² are /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p 196.

2. Those people who were rationalistically inclined - who had rejected Calvinism as teaching an unjust God - were pleased with the new teachings. The Writer of "Two Letters" says: "I have had frequent opportunities of conversing with persons who confessedly know nothing about the practical part, of /

are you not disposed to pray for so much charity, as will keep you from thinking that this man is not the sport of popular opinions?"¹ So it was throughout the country. This new party was now called "Marshallites", instead of the old name "New-lights"² which had distinguished them as the Revival party in the Presbyterian Church.

Religious leaders discussed the cause of this new "heresy". It was contended that it was due to neglect in the teaching of the Confession, since five hundred hymn books were sold to one copy of Willis on the Catechism.³ It was argued that if the members of the Springfield Presbytery had been diligent students of the "many excellent commentators, who have explained the sacred text:" they would never have been heard "to declare to the world, that Faith, which is everywhere spoken of in the Bible as God's gift - as that which purifies the heart, was not a holy disposition, wrought in the heart of a guilty sinner, by the Spirit of God; but a persuasion altogether the effect of the sinner's own powers? And if your churches had been properly instructed, and these men were found weak enough to make the above declaration; can any body suppose, there would have been found in its bosom, a number of persons, ignorant enough to believe them."⁴

In /

of religion, respecting the doctrines of the new sect. They all appear to be highly delighted, particularly with the manner in which the doctrine of Faith is explained in the Apology, and by the authors. They say this is removing one objection they always entertained against religion; as being a thing beyond the compass of human agency. With a scoff it is observed this is giving all the world a fair chance. We have seen that this is not the only point of coincidence between this new sect and free-thinkers". p.13.

1. Two Letters written in 1804. p. 13.
2. The Revival parties under Edwards and Whilfield had also been called "New Lights".
3. Two Letters written in 1804, p. 10.
4. Two Letters written in 1804, p. 11.

In the meantime, since its organization, the Springfield Presbytery, as far as church government was concerned, functioned very much as any other Presbytery. As to a creed, the session of April 20th, 1804, observed that it was the "privilege of the Church mutually to profess their regard to the Holy Scriptures, as the only rule of faith and discipline."¹ They licensed preachers, or as they chose to state, recommended to the churches, those who they believed, were chosen and called of God. The following, written at Springfield, March 1804, is a sample of their form of license:-

"Forasmuch as our brother, Malcham Worley, has made known to us the exercises of his mind for some time past, expressive of a Divine call to labour in word and doctrine; and we being satisfied, from a long and intimate acquaintance with him, of his talents, both natural and acquired, being such, as through the grace of God, may render him useful; and considering that the way of God is above our ways, it therefore seemed good to us, with one accord to encourage our brother to the work, whereunto we trust the Holy Ghost is calling him; and we do hereby recommend him to the churches scattered abroad, to be forwarded in his calling according to the manifestation of the Spirit given to him to profit withal. Signed in behalf of the Presbytery.

B. W. Stone, Cl'k."²

The members of Springfield Presbytery knew that West Lexington Presbytery had asked the General Assembly to interfere in the troubles in Kentucky. They seemed confident that the decision would be in their favour and that they would be recognised /

1. McNemar, The Kentucky Revival p. 45.
2. McNemar, The Kentucky Revival p. 46.

recognised as a legitimate body in the Presbyterian church. They had always contended that the Synod had overstepped its jurisdiction in attempting an examination of McNemar and Thompson - a matter which was for the Presbytery to decide. The General Assembly had, at its last session, appointed a committee to consider whether or not any revision of the Confession was necessary, and had ordered that no new copies of Aitken's Confession should be printed until this matter was decided. These facts would give the Seceders the right to hope for some sympathy from that quarter. The following extract from the "Apology" reflects their confidence:

"From the friendly intercourse and plans of union which exist between the General Assembly and other churches, we cannot suppose that reverend body considers the Confession of Faith in the same point of light with our Synodical brethren; and we are the more confirmed in this persuasion by the following extract from the minutes of their last session: 'Resolved that the Revs. Drs. Blair, Tennant and Green; the Rev. Messrs Irvin, Milledoler, Linn, Pott and Janeway, be a committee to take into consideration the expediency of publishing a new edition of the Confession of Faith, &c., of this church; to consider whether any, and if any, what alterations, ought to be made in the said Confession of Faith; and to make such preparatory arrangements, on this subject as they shall judge proper; and report to the next Assembly'. If any inquire why we did not appeal to the General Assembly: We answer, it appeared to us unnecessary, because the business must naturally come before them, through the minutes of Synod If we learn from the minutes of the Assembly that they are for peace, we are near at hand and ready to obey the signal, but, if otherwise, our empty seats must so remain ... p. 48 ... "We have said in our protest, that we only withdrew /

withdrew from the judicatories with which we stood connected, and not from the church; we say so still. They have beaten us uncondemned, being Presbyterians, and then would cast us out of the church. ^{now?} Nay their letter of suspension will not do. We must again call for order, and desire that body to produce authority, not from the annals of the church of Scotland, but from the word of God, or at least from the constitution of the Presbyterian church in America, to justify their proceedings. If they have suspended us without authority, the General Assembly will have to say whether they were in order or not. So long as we believe their proceedings were out of order, that belief will bind us more firmly to the church. - The hireling may flee when his congregations are declared vacant, and his salary called in; and set out in search of another benefice; but we pledge ourselves, through the grace of God, to stand fast in the unity of the spirit, and without respect of persons, endeavour to gather into one, the children of God, who have been 'scattered in the cloudy and dark day'".¹

The General Assembly met in Philadelphia from May 17th to 30th in 1804. Naturally, each party in Kentucky, watched with keenest interest every resolution made. On May 19th they considered the letter from West Lexington Presbytery. A copy of the "Apology" by "certain persons styling themselves 'The Presbytery of Springfield'" was read to page 61, but finding that too much time was required to read it all, a committee was appointed to consider it and report to Assembly.² On May 29th the General Assembly appointed three of their number to meet with /

1. Apology of the Springfield Presbytery, p. 49.

2. Minutes of the General Assembly, May 19, 1804, p 293.

with the Synod of Kentucky or a committee of the Synod, and endeavour to heal the disorders.¹ They also sent a lengthy pastoral letter to the churches in that region and while no definite stand for either side, was taken in the document, there was nothing to increase the hopes of the seceders. The trouble was referred to as the "unhappy separation of five, who had formerly appeared to be zealous and successful ministers of Jesus Christ;" they concluded that there had been "too great heat concerning the meaning and importance of words." They also took a very decided stand against the disorder and extravagances that had grown out of the revival period.

Of still greater importance in determining the future of the "Springfield Presbytery" was the action taken on May 26th in regard to the Confession of Faith. The minute recorded is as follows:-

"Your committee have resolved to propose no alteration whatever, in the Confession of Faith and Catechism of our church, and are clearly of opinion, that none ought to be attempted. The creed of every church, as it ought to be derived immediately and wholly from the Word of God, must be considered as standing on ground considerably different from that which supports the systems of forms and regulations, by which worship shall be conducted and government administered. And if it once be rightly settled, can never be altered with propriety by any change of time, or external circumstance of the church ...

302. In a word, what was true when our Confession and Catechisms was formed, is now true. We believe that this truth has been admirably and accurately drawn into view in these excellent /

1. Minutes of General Assembly, May 29, 1804.

excellent performances. They have become venerable from their age."¹

This act of the highest ecclesiastical court of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, would be the death-blow to the hopes of the Springfield Presbytery. The Confession, as it stood, was to remain the standard of the church; to this standard they could not measure up. From this time, the entire plan of the movement is changed.

Barton Stone tells us that he called together his congregations and informed them that he could no longer conscientiously preach to support the Presbyterian church; and in their presence, he tore up the salary agreement that they had made with him. He had worked for six years in the greatest of harmony, with the churches at Cane Ridge and Concord. He continued to preach among them but not in the relation that had formerly existed.² Having now no support from the congregations, and having emancipated his slaves, he "cheerfully, though awkwardly," laboured on his farm. He preached continually, almost every night, and often in the day time, to the people around. Having no money to hire labourers, and finding the weeds were getting ahead of his corn, he would often /

1. Minutes of General Assembly, May 26, 1804.
Compare with this, the statement by Rev. Wm. A. Curtis in his Inaugural Address, upon the occasion of his installation as Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen: (1903) - a century later.

✓ "When questions confront us, or information startles us, in fields of thought that still were closed when the framers of our Standards sat in council to deal with the controversies of their day, we do no honour to their teaching, we show ourselves no true sons of theirs, if we turn a backward glance of helplessness to them as though we expected their words to have an oracular significance for changed times and new conditions." (Inaugural Address, 10).

2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 49.

often work his fields at night while others were asleep, to redeem the time he had spent in preaching. So we see that these men, for what they considered the truth, were willing to sacrifice not only the friendship of their ministerial brethren, but the salaries which had been abundant for the support of themselves and their families.

They evidently fully decided from the minutes of the General Assembly, and many other things which were probably said, but not recorded, that their "empty seats must so remain"; for on June 28th, one month after the meeting of the General Assembly, they abandon the Springfield Presbytery and the name Presbyterian, and decide to take the name "Christian", and to be called by no other. This dissolution was declared through a rather unique document drawn up in the form of a will, and entitled "The Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery." In this, they will, "that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the body of Christ at large; for there is but one body, and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling." (L.W. & T.)

In "The Witnesses' Address" which was attached to the "Last Will," they regret the "party spirit among professing Christians, principally owing to the adoption of human creeds and forms of government." They also state that they can find "neither" precept nor example in the New Testament for such confederacies as modern Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, etc." Out of a principle of love to Christians of every name, and sinners who are kept from the Lord by the existence and confusion of sects and parties in the church, they decide to "retire from the din and fury of conflicting parties - sink out of view of fleshly minds, and die /

die the death.¹ They wished to unite with all Christians. They thus took their stand on the position of "no creed but the Bible; no name but that of Christ." They abandoned all party creeds and party names; and as Stone says "became a by-word and laughing stock to the sects around; all prophesying our speedy annihilation." On the contrary, this was the beginning of a great movement which was to enlist thousands in its fellowship.

With the little pamphlet announcing the dissolution of the "Springfield Presbytery", was an invitation to "a General Meeting of Christians" to be held at Bethel (Mr Marshall's late charge) seven miles from Lexington, in October, on the Sunday preceding the meeting of Synod. Notice was given in the public papers, and people were asked to come prepared to camp for a few days. This place was selected as central to the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. They announced that the Lord's Supper would be administered, and that their sentiments would be explained.² Large numbers of people came, some from between one and two hundred miles; and encamped on the ground.³ John Poage Campbell states that the people assembled were "sufficiently numerous to alarm the heart of an Ecclesiastic who had little or nothing but the favour, or the frown of the multitude to direct his conduct."⁴

When the Synod met at Danville, October 16th, 1804, there were present, the Committee of General Assembly - consisting of the Revd. James Hall, the Revd. Thomas Marquis and the Revd. Nash Le Grand, ^{as well as} four of the "protesting brethren" - Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Barton W. Stone and John Thompson.⁵

The /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 54.
2. Minutes of General Assembly, May 18th, 1805, p. 329.
3. Minutes of General Assembly.
4. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. ii. p. 65.
5. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Oct. 16th, 1804.

The Synod appointed a Committee to confer with the Committee from the General Assembly. We get the story of what happened at Danville, from the report which the Committee made to the next session of Assembly held in Philadelphia in May, 1805.

They submitted the following:-

"In a conference between this joint committee and the dissenters, the following questions were proposed by the committee, to which the dissenters returned the annexed answers:-

"Question 1. What were your reasons for renouncing the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church?

"Answer 1. Because we believed that those bodies with which we stood connected, acted contrary to their own rules.

"Answer 2. But especially because the Confession of Faith, or standard of that church, contained several things which we viewed as contrary to the word of God; on which account we could not retain it as the standard of our faith, or submit to be judged and condemned by its dictates. This we saw evidently to be the design of Synod. Other reasons and the train of circumstances which, in a gradual chain, brought the matter to that issue, are fully exhibited in our apology, to which we refer all who want information. While we were let alone, we were willing to let the Confession of Faith alone; but as soon as we found that our sentiments were to be brought to that standard, we renounced its authority.

"Question 2. Can any method of accommodation be proposed which may induce you to return to the jurisdiction of that church, and heal the division which has taken place in the Synod of Kentucky.

"Answer. To the first part of this question, we answer in the negative; so long as they retain the Confession of Faith as the /

the standard of doctrine and discipline, because we cannot receive that book as our standard.

“ When we withdrew, we considered ourselves freed from all creeds but the Bible; and since that time, by constant application to it, we are led farther from the idea of adopting creeds and confessions as standards, than we were at first; consequently, to come under the jurisdiction of that church now, is entirely out of the question. We feel ourselves citizens of the world; God, our common Father; all men our brethren by nature, and all Christians our brethren in Christ. This principle of universal love to Christians gains ground in our hearts, in proportion as we get clear of particular attachments to party. We, therefore, cannot put ourselves in a situation which would check the growth of so benign a temper, and make us fight under a party standard. Notwithstanding, we conceive that we can propose a method of accommodation, which, with divine blessing, will heal the division which subsists between both ministers and people throughout the bounds of the Synod of Kentucky, as follows:

- “1. Let us remember that all Christians are one in Christ; members of his body, partakers of his nature, and heirs of his kingdom; therefore, they have no power over one another to cut off, exclude, or unite.
- “2. Let us pray for more of the uniting, cementing spirit.
- “3. Treat differences in lesser matters with Christian charity and mutual forbearance, and band our united forces to the common cause.
- “4. Give up the care of the church of God, by constant, fervent prayer; counsel, admonish, advise, reprove, comfort, and strengthen one another, as necessity may require, in the spirit /

spirit of love and meekness; then will be accomplished that saying, that "of the rest, durst no man join himself unto them."¹

Thus the conference between the joint committee of the Presbyterian Church and the "Christians" proved of no avail. The Synod decided to publish their "Serious Address", from the Synod of Kentucky, to the Churches under their care." In this they explained that now, since all attempts at reconciliation had failed, "the ground on which our suspended brethren stand is considerably changed," and that "men who have renounced the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church - cannot, with propriety be countenanced by those who are friendly to order, and consequently, those who attend on their ministrations, must be considered as opening afresh the wounds with which the church had been made to bleed, and causing the children of God in many parts of the world to weep in distress."² The Synod also ordered that every minister read this to his churches; and they appointed certain men to go as early as possible after the publication was received, and read it in the congregations where the dissenting brethren had preached.³

All judicial intercourse with the "Christians" as they now called themselves, may be considered to have ceased with the meeting of Synod in October, 1804. Whatever attempts may have been made by individuals, it does not appear that the Synod ever again made advances toward a reconciliation. In the meeting of 1808, the business was once more entered into, and after some deliberation, the five ministers who had formed the original seceding group were "deposed from all functions /

1. Minutes of the General Assembly, May 18, 1805, pp. 325, 6.
2. Serious Address, from the Synod of Kentucky, pp. 4, 5.
3. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, Oct. 23, 1804.

functions of the gospel ministry, and cut off from our communication."¹

The following May, (1805) after hearing the full report of the committee which had been sent to Kentucky, the General Assembly resolved "That they highly approve the firm and temperate measures taken by the Synod of Kentucky, and the committee of Assembly that met with them!"²

However, from the meeting of the Synod in 1804, the "Christians" were a religious group apart, and not connected in any way with the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. The movement caught the imagination of the people, and swept the country with its enthusiasm and liberalism until it threatened to destroy the whole Presbyterian connection in that part of the country. The five seceding ministers were the recognized leaders of the new party," known in the language of that day, by the name of New Lights, Schismatics, Marshallites, Stoneites, etc."³ This split in the ranks of the Presbyterians, coupled with the loss of the Cumberland party - due also to the rigid Calvinism, and some disagreements on the matter of church government - permanently crippled them in Kentucky. From that time, they ceased to be the leading religious people in the West. And long since, the adoption of the Confession of Faith was made so elastic, that Barton Stone and his co-heretics, could never have been called dissenters. Thompson, in his History of the Presbyterians, in the American Church History Series, contends that not much above a third of the descendants of their Ulster communicants are to-day Presbyterians; but that from their number the ranks of the Baptists, Methodists and Disciples have been swollen. He attributes this /

1. Bishop, History of the Church in Kentucky, p. 133.
2. Minutes of General Assembly, May 18, 1805 p. 330.
3. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. ii. 212.

this loss to the insistence formerly made on points of "doctrinal niceties and polemics" of the Westminster standards.¹ He adds, when discussing later revision controversies, especially that of 1889: "The church had undergone great changes since the Westminster divines had been in session. It had been led into a deeper sense of the love of God to mankind, of the work of the Spirit in the hearts of men, and of the work of the church's vocation as a missionary agency." He claims that the Confession "went beyond the teachings of Scripture in explicitly asserting the reprobation of the wicked, in defining as to the number of the elect being incapable of increase or decrease, in speaking of 'elect infants' with the evident implication that some are reprobate, etc. It shows how great the change which has taken place in our conception of God's character, that not a single opponent of revision would subscribe to the opinion which the authors of the Confession actually held and meant to express. Many of them even refused to believe that the dogma of infant damnation had ever been held by Calvinists."² Had the Synod of Kentucky and the General Assembly taken this liberal attitude in the beginning days of the nineteenth century, there never would have been a "Secession of 1803."³

Just /

1. Thompson, History of the Presbyterian Churches in U.S. p.253.
2. Thompson, History of the Presbyterian Churches in U.S. pp. 248, 249.
3. In 1832, Barton Stone wrote: "I laboured seven years with the Presbyterians, and should have continued with them, if they had permitted me to read and understand the scriptures for myself, and to preach them according to my understanding of them. But this I was not permitted to do. Honestly I preferred to hypocrisy, liberty to slavery, poverty to wealth, a good conscience to ease and popularity, and the glory of God, and the honour of his truth, to every other consideration: therefore, with a few free spirits, I resigned all my friends, my ease, my good name, my living, to Jesus and his truth; determined to follow him wherever his word should direct me. To be bound by a human authoritative creed, confessed to be fallible, I could not, I would not. - " (Christian Messenger 6: 263)

Just a century after the Secession - 1903 - the revision of the Confession of Faith, and the adoption of the Declaratory Statement, made it so clearly impossible to interpret the Confession in a fatalistic sense, that on that basis, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was re-united with the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.¹

Similar action was taken in Scotland. Rev. Wm. A. Curtis, then Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen, speaking during that same year - 1903 - could say: "Within our national Church in the present year, the venerable Confession that has stood so long as a symbol binding Presbyterians together, has had authoritative emphasis laid upon its more tolerant and progressive clauses, with what may be described as unanimous recognition by the General Assembly of the fact, long tacitly assumed, that its doctrine in detail can no longer be claimed to represent the spontaneous beliefs of the great majority of our teachers and preachers."²

Barton Stone, himself, would hardly have taken a more liberal attitude than that stated by Thompson, writing more than thirty years ago, as the historian of the Presbyterian Church: "Half a century ago, the great controversies were waged between our religious households. It was church against church, or sect against sect. When a collision of opinion arose within a church, it generally resulted in a division, or in the formation of a new sect to represent the worsted principle. Our ecclesiastical politics had the simplicity and directness seen in an ancient Greek city, where the victorious /

1. Roberts, ~~The Reunion of the Cumberland Pres Ch and the Pres. Ch of U.S.A.~~ p. 305.
2. Curtis, Inaugural Address, p. 7, 8.

victorious party generally expelled the minority, and thus secured an effective unanimity. It was a common plea with those who expressed their dissent from the position taken by their own church, that they should leave it in peace, and either seek fellowship in some body which agreed with them, or form a new one for themselves.

"This breaking up religious communions 'with a light heart' is become less the habit of our American Christians. It begins to be recognized that doctrinal uniformity is not the most precious possession a church can claim, and may be bought at too high a price. What once would have been separate sects begin to be parties within the churches, and the discussions which would have been waged across sectarian lines are now carried on in a more brotherly fashion within the same body."¹

1. Thompson, History of the Presbyterian Churches in U.S.
p. 243.

CHAPTER V.

THOMAS CRAIGHEAD and REGENERATION.

It was soon proved to the satisfaction of the orthodox party of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, just what was the source of the doctrines of the five ministers who had, in October 1803, withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their Synod and Presbyteries. There came to view the man whom John Poage Campbell chose to call "the grand heresiarch of the west, the prime mover of schisms in this section of the church."¹ It was declared that Thomas B. Craighead was the chief juggler behind the curtain, while the five seceding ministers - Marshall, Thompson, Stone, Dunlavy and M'Nemar - were the puppets that he played off.²

Thomas Craighead was one of the first ministers to come to Kentucky. He was one of the five who had formed the original Transylvania Presbytery in 1786. He was the son of the Rev. Alexander Craighead of North Carolina. His paternal ancestors had been ministers as far back as the lineage was known. Thomas Craighead had, in 1778, been licensed to preach by the Orange Presbytery³ and had served the churches in North Carolina until he left for Tennessee in 1786. As the brother of Mrs David Caldwell, the wife of Barton Stone's teacher, his home had been the headquarters for Stone when, as a stranger, he had come into the west.

Craighead seems to have been a very clever man, for his enemies admitted that he had "superior powers of investigation and /

1. Campbell, Evangelical Record and Western Review, ii, p66.
2. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 272 - quoting J.P. Campbell in Prot. & Her., Vol. x, No. 37.
3. Caruthers, Life of Caldwell, p. 197.

and eloquence,"¹ and excelled in extemporaneous speaking. Although living in the midst of the Cumberland revival excitement, he had, from the beginning, opposed the extravagances which accompanied it. But while he was always a staunch advocate of discipline and order in the church he seems to have made no claims to a rigid orthodoxy. He had most vigorously opposed the departure of the Transylvania Presbytery from the rules of the church, when, to cope with the increased membership due to the revival interest, they had relaxed their standards, and had licensed young men who made no pretence to the required literary qualifications; and had thus opened the way for the departures in doctrine which soon led to the formation of the Left Wing of Presbyterianism - the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. But his "heresies" were known. He seems to have talked freely with his ministerial friends concerning his views, for John Lyle in his Diary tells that when he stayed overnight at his home on a tour through the Cumberland country, Craighead spent the evening explaining to him the system of divinity which he held. Lyle remarked that to him, it resembled that of Pelagius; but admitted that he "sets it forth in a masterly manner, and seems to believe it cordially."² In December 1805 he was examined before the Committee of Synod that was sent to Tennessee in an attempt to check the Cumberland Presbytery, which had so far departed from orthodoxy that they were requiring subscription to the Confession of Faith in "so far only, as they believed it to agree with the word of God."³ Many questions were put to Craighead, all of which, with a few exceptions, were agreeably answered. Some of those /

1. Campbell, Evangelical Record and Western Review, Vol. ii p. 78.
2. Lyle, Diary of Cumberland Tour of 1805.
3. Sprague's, Revivals of Religion and Appendix p. 33.

those which were "not entirely satisfactory" were as follows:

"1st question. Did God decree all things which came to pass?

Answer. As to the good actions of man, the sense is positive but as to the criminal activities, permission only. - 2nd ques-

tion. Is there an influence distinct from and superior to the word in illuminating the mind? Answer. No. - 3rd question.

Is there any difference between the foreknowledge of God and his decree? Answer, yes, etc. ..."¹ No immediate action was taken by the committee.

At the next regular meeting of the Synod, Thomas Craighead preached the opening sermon - and one which caused a great excitement. With what motive we do not know - so fragmentary is all data - he chose as his topic, "Regeneration;" and, in this, set forth in a most logical manner, his understanding of the teachings of the Bible regarding the working of faith in the heart of the sinner, and the influence of the Holy Spirit in that work. As to his reason for discussing this subject before Synod less than a year after being examined by them, concerning it, we will quote the probably biased view, written in 1811, in answer to the publication of this same sermon, some time previous. John Poage Campbell, the brilliant controversialist, and ever-ready defender of orthodoxy, in his "Pelagian Detected", states: "Confidently secure in possessing superior powers of investigation and eloquence, and stimulated to a fiercer zeal if not revenge by the provoking interference of the commission of Synod, he made a grand effort in the fall of 1806, during the sessions of the Synod of Kentucky. On the morning of a Sacramental Sabbath and just before the celebration of the solemn mysteries of our holy religion, in the presence of the greater part of the Synod and many members of the church, together /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, December 10, 1805.

together with a mixed multitude, he dared to deliver the obnoxious sermon on regeneration, since published to the world ... Thus, near the altar of Jehovah Jesus, in his own sanctuary, and at the very foot of the blood-stained Cross, he assailed, with murderous hand, the very vitals of christian truth. It was then that orthodoxy wept indignant, and error lifted up her crest. While the faces of truth were affected even to sadness, I saw the faces of New-lights and errorists beam with the transports of joy. His object was the conversion of the Synod to his darling theology, and the amalgamation of the Presbyterian and schismatic parties; but in this he failed; for instead of being his obedient disciples, they called him to the bar, recorded his errors and censured him. Three years after this, in defiance of ecclesiastical authority, he ventured to publish the sermon, and even rudely attacked the Synod in a special address to them before the public. For the errors and contempt of Synod thus published, the Transylvania Presbytery cited him to appear before them to answer. He failed to obey their citation, and of course, Presbytery referred his case to the Synod, earnestly invoking his suspension. For a series of contumacious conduct the Synod suspended him, ordering at the same time his deposition,¹ provided a recantation of his errors should not intervene. This sentence has been rendered final by the decision of the General Assembly, and as it is presumed his deposition has taken place, he is now to be considered as bearing the definitive censure of the church. Thus restless, thus daring, thus indefatigable has this apostle of Pelagianism been to diffuse his errors ever since /

1. Minutes of the Kentucky Synod, October 13, 1803.
Thomas Craighead was restored to ministerial standing in the Presbyterian Church, in 1824, shortly before his death at the age of seventy. (Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 134.)

since his settlement in the Western country".¹

In this "Sermon on Regeneration" which Thomas Craighead, in defiance of Synod, published in 1809, he sets forth his system of theology, which although not entirely Pelagian, certainly was not Augustinian. He attacked the very core of the "doctrines of grace" taught by the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, when he avowed that "The word of God, given by immediate inspiration of God through the apostles, was the cause and foundation of the church then (Apostolic times); and the same word now recorded, is the cause and foundation of the faith of christians at the present day."²

He gives a thorough investigation of the nature and principles of regeneration, or the New Birth. He defines the New Birth not as physical, but as intellectual and moral; as consisting not in the infusion of new faculties or dispositions manifested in emotions or bodily agitations, but as strong and lasting impressions made upon the rational faculties by divine truth. It is induced by the conviction that "it shall go well with the righteous and ill with the wicked; that infinite evil may be escaped, and infinite good obtained, through conformity to the laws and spirit of the government."³ Thus the sinner, on the terms prescribed, accepts of the covenant of grace proposed to him by God. Craighead declares that the word of God is not a dead letter - an obsolete will - with which "to beguile the irksome hours of a Sabbath, till we see whether Christ, moved by causes no way related to us or our exercises, will descend from heaven or ascend from the deep to reconcile us to God."⁴

Craighead /

1. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 78.
2. Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration, p. 4.
3. Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration, p. 2.
4. Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration, p. 3.

Craighead affirmed two distinct operations of the Holy Spirit. The "miraculous in-dwelling of the spirit" was given to the prophets, the apostles and the apostolic churches, in the absence of the written record. "They had immediate communication with heaven. The canon of scripture was not yet finished. The will of God was only in part revealed to man. So far as the scriptures were written, the apostles derived their knowledge of God and his will from them¹.... What was not yet recorded was revealed to them immediately by the spirit of God What they spake from immediate revelation, we speak from the records To the converts of the infant church the same spirit was given to supply the want of written revelation. It is not yet precisely ascertained at what period the sacred books were first collected into one volume, and separated from the spurious productions of that day; neither is it precisely known at what time the miraculous in-dwelling of the spirit ceased in the churches. It is probable it ceased when the necessity of that in-dwelling was superseded by a fair and undisputed record exhibited to the world". It seemed to be the entire duty of this miraculous spirit to "supply the want of records".² The Spirit attested his divinity by miracles, as Jesus had done before him. He proved his mission "by the gift of tongues, discernment of spirits, prophecy, healing diseases and raising the dead".³

The second operation, called the "gift of the spirit" was given to the christian as a direct testimony of his conversion. "He that believeth hath the witness in himself." The spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are ^{the} children of God. /

1. Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration, p. 3.
2. " " " " p. 4.
3. " " " " p. 5.

God. When Peter reported to the Jewish Christians that the Spirit had been given to the Gentiles as well as to them, they considered it incontestible evidence that God had granted them repentance unto life. "But this spirit never was given in any immediate agency to any man till after he had believed, and his faith never was ascribed to any immediate agency antecedent to conversion". The Comforter is not promised to the sinner - "the world cannot receive him". The spirit is to convince the world by the evidence addressed to their understanding. "And though this gift of the spirit in his immediate agency was general in the infant church, it never appears to have been conferred on any individual before conversion - never appears to have wrought upon them in any other way but by representing the truth to them in words by the mouths of the apostles;" and their conversion never was ascribed to any other cause but to the spirit in the word.¹ "As the knowledge of God, before and after the fall, is the cause of all religious obedience, as well as love - so the spirit reveals that knowledge by his records."² Craighead asserts that the cases of Cornelius and Lydia are not exceptions to this rule for they had been converted from sin to God through the Jewish scriptures. Both were believers before Peter and Paul preached to them, but they had not been informed of the Messiahship of Jesus. "These immediate gifts of the spirit are withdrawn from the churches, but he abideth for ever according to his promise, speaking the same things to us by record, which he spake to them by inspiration."³ "We are born of the spirit, but we are born of him by his word, and by his word believed. And it appears that this very faith of his word /

1. Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration, p. 7.
2. " " " " p. 8.
3. " " " " p. 9.

word is what renders us capable of pleasing God".¹ - "It is true the spirit must be present to the thoughts of the heart, as a God of eternal truth and faithfulness, when we believe."²

Throughout the sermon Craighead contends that the Confession has been wrongly interpreted against free will. God does not insult us by renewed offers of grace, which he will not suffer you to accept, and damn you with peculiar and gospel condemnation, because you will not accept". Nor does he, "finding you dead in trespasses and sin, do everything but quicken you or make you alive, which he will not do; and then condemn you to hell because you have not performed the duties of active life, and then demand, 'What could have been done to my vineyard that I have not done?' "³ The theory that it is impossible for you to feel the love of God in your heart, is entirely of "modern fabrication". We hear of no such case under the preaching of Christ or the Apostles. Faith is the gift of God through his word. It is as impossible to believe without testimony, as it is to see without eyes or to hear without ears. "The power of believing in every intelligent creature consists in the strength of the testimony."⁴ The sinner may refuse to allow the evidence a place in his heart, and thus destroy his own soul; but the word, when allowed to enter is "the most coercive and irresistible cause of believing in the universe."

He defined the "covenant of grace, proposed by God himself, and accepted by the sinner on the terms prescribed", as consisting of four articles. The first, declared by God and to be admitted by us, is that we are in sin, and therefore subject to the wrath of God. He is not willing that any should perish, but /

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| 1. | Craighead, | Sermon on Regeneration, | p. 10. |
| 2. | " | " | p. 12. |
| 3. | " | " | p. 13. |
| 4. | " | " | p. 26. |

but that all should come to repentance.¹ The second article of this covenant of grace, is that he offers his promise of forgiveness through Jesus Christ, to all who will receive the faith of the promise, repent and live according to his established order of obedience.² The third is connected with the second, in that it is the fulfillment of it, when he promises to lead us by his counsel and bring us safely to Glory, provided we submit ourselves to the government of his law.³ "The fourth and last article of this covenant offered to your faith and acceptance, is the resurrection from the dead and eternal life".⁴

When, in 1809, Craighead decided to publish the sermon he had delivered before Synod three years before, he added an "Address to the Synod of Kentucky". He taunts them with having advised him to "speak cautiously on the subjects contained in the discourse"; he says that their language was ambiguous, for he could not tell whether they meant he should carefully "adhere to the phraseology of our Lord and his apostles and be cautious of departing from their manner, "or that he should be cautious of departing from the manner of the Synod. He objected to their doctrine that faith can only be given through a direct gift from God, and reproached them with having, through this teaching, subverted a "revival that promised everything to the hope of those who could place a dependence on gospel truth."⁵ He asks: "What am I to tell them is the sign that this antecedent work, whatever it be, is wrought in them? Is it by seeing, feeling, emotions, exercise, laughing, singing, dancing, jerking /

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| 1. | Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration, | p. 27. |
| 2. | " " " " | p. 35. |
| 3. | " " " " | p. 37. |
| 4. | " " " " | p. 42. |
| 5. | " " " " | p. 60. |

jerking, or what else; or is it a holy life?" "Awakened sinners were docile scholars. Had they been taught the truth, they would certainly have embraced it, as they did delusions. But when such an incoherent, multifarious jargon was represented to them as a necessary preface to their hearing Christ, or submitting themselves to his instructions, which were written on purpose that they might believe, not with a presumptuous faith, but that they might have life through his name, what could you expect but that the ignorant multitude would open their minds to strong delusions? What guide had they to direct them, or what rule of discrimination between imagination and the work of the spirit? You must have been short-sighted indeed if you could not foresee the divisions, distractions, delusions, in short the humiliation of the church, which has arisen from a perverted and abused revival. What shall I tell them to do till this antecedent work is performed? Pray, strive, agonize, wait on in unbelief? Oh happy preaching! Till you were agreed what this prefatory work is, till you could describe it minutely, so that none might mistake it except by neglect; would it not have been as safe only to have been as wise as was written, and imitated the Apostles in that great revival which they led so successfully, preaching Christ to them that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among the sanctified by faith that is in him? .. This, Sir, is my apology for publishing the obnoxious sermon".¹

This publication brought an open war in the Presbyterian church in Kentucky, which resulted in the deposition of Thomas Craighead. He appealed to the general assembly, but to no avail?
James /

1. Craighead, Sermon on Regeneration. p. 60.

2. See Campbell Letter, March 5, 1811, Wilson papers.

James Blythe, in a letter dated January 26, 1810, says of the sermon that it will "do much mischief among people so poorly informed as are our people in general. It has done and is doing a great deal of harm in Lexington and this neighbourhood".¹ The resemblance between this sermon and Part Two of the "Springfield Apology", - "A Compendious View of the Gospel," written by B.W. Stone.² - was not difficult to see. Immediately witnesses were produced, and a train of circumstances built up that proved to the satisfaction of all, that Barton Stone had derived his theories of regeneration, from his ministerial friend, the Rev. Thomas Craighead. And long before this, Stone had, at least as far as theological teachings were concerned, been recognised as the leader of the new party of "Christians"; and they were then popularly known, no longer as "Marshallites", but as "Stoneites".

The Rev. John Poage Campbell testified that during the summer of 1800, while travelling with Stone, then returning from a visit to Mr M'Nemar, he was given, by him a detailed account of the teachings of Craighead; and that, though not then suspecting that Barton Stone, himself, held these views, he did remember, that when he opposed them, Stone said not a word. During the next winter, in company with Richard M'Nemar, he visited with him at his lodgings. Stone had just returned from a visit to the Cumberland country, and "had no doubt taken a fresh charge of inspiration from his oracle";³ for he again proposed to them, Craighead's system of teaching, with its practical application to the subjects of the revival. Campbell states: "We were asked by Mr Stone how we thought it would do? I replied, it would not do at all, and that it was to be abhorred. Mr M'Nemar affected /

1. Wilson Papers - (Original hand-written letter).
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 191.
3. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 51.

affected to oppose it. Mr Stone acted as before, and never said anything against it. I was then given up as an unfit subject to be operated upon, and afterward had nothing advanced to me concerning it. In what manner Mr Stone conducted his future assaults on Mr M'Nemar's faith, I know nothing personally, except that some time in that year, I was shewn by that gentleman a long letter from Mr Stone to himself, which was written to recommend, cautiously, some of the doctrines embraced by Mr Craighead's system."¹

Numerous signed affidavits were produced from Presbyterian leaders - ministers and elders in the church - showing that Barton Stone had derived his views through the teachings of his older friend in the south. Dr Thomas Donnell, an elder living in Sumner county, Tennessee, told that as early as 1799, in this home and in his presence, these doctrines had been the subject of much conversation and debate. He wrote, "Mr Stone appeared throughout strictly Calvinistic, and towards the close, somewhat bewildered and dejected That same evening, Stone met with Mr Craighead at another house, where they had much conversation through the night. Not long after his return to Kentucky, we heard that Mr Stone had changed his sentiments."²

We will quote again from an elder in the church, to show that as early as 1799, before ever having any personal contact with the revival, Barton Stone was deeply influenced by Craighead's teaching on Regeneration, and the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion:—

"Barton W. Stone, not long after making a journey to the Green-river and Cumberland settlements, (I think) in the year 1799, in company /

1. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 58.
2. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 58.

company with John Thompson, being at my house, the conversation turned on the bodily exercises, and their effects; it was mentioned by some one present that a Mr Craighead, a Presbyterian preacher in that country, had not appeared favourable to the revival; Mr Stone said it had been partially the case; but that it was not safe for people of common parts to attempt to combat his opinions, for his manner of managing his cause was so forcible, that he would overpower any common opponent. He then mentioned some new opinions which Mr Craighead had broached which he said Craighead supported with arguments which were not easily refuted, especially when managed by such an able hand; Mr Stone then proceeded to state the opinions, which as near as I can recollect, were these, viz: That there was no such thing to be expected as immediate, or direct (I am not certain which of the terms he used) operations of the spirit of God, for that every such thing had long since ceased; but that the spirit was in the word, and that the operation of the truth on the mind, was all the way in which the divine being had communication with mankind. Among the scriptures which were advanced in support of these opinions, one was, 'The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'"¹

The testimony of the various witnesses all agree, that from about 1799, Stone was influenced by the teachings of Craighead and began, soon after, to disseminate these same doctrines. Another elder testifies: "Mr Stone in the same year, to wit, 1800, virtually denied the agency of the spirit, inasmuch, as he said that faith was prior to regeneration in the order of nature - that we never received the Spirit until we believed the Spirit was in the word, and the moment we believed we received that spirit /

1. Certificate of Wm. Thompson, Pelagian Detected, p. 60.

spirit of truth, and through the belief of that truth we were sanctified - he also said that God had done all he could do for mankind, until they believed."¹

During the Concord revival, in 1801, Barton Stone began to preach that faith is antecedent to regeneration. A few weeks prior to the meeting of Synod, in 1803, he openly denied "any immediate agency, either in faith or regeneration, saying that, for two years, he had been arriving at that conclusion. When accused of denying the operation of God's spirit, he stated that believers did receive the spirit, which was inseparably connected with the word, and quoted the text: "The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and life".²

Richard M'Nemar soon began to teach the same doctrines; and in April or May of 1801, John Dunlavy, his brother-in-law, preached "Mr. Craighead's doctrine of faith".³ From all evidence produced; there seems no doubt but that Barton Warren Stone derived his system of theology from Thomas Craighead, and passed it on to the other men of the seceding group. The stories from the Presbyterian leaders tally so well with that of Stone, when he tells, in his Autobiography, of his change of views,⁴ that there is no room to doubt their honesty.

Samuel Donnell, a Presbyterian elder in Bourbon county, stated that as far as he could understand, Stone's preaching accorded with the teachings set forth in Craighead's pamphlet; and that Stone's followers agreed with the printed sermon, in so far as it treated of faith and regeneration.⁵

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1. Certificate of Samuel M. Waugh, Pelagian Detected, p. 60.
2. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 62.
3. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 58.
4. Stone, Autobiography, pp 30-34.
5. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p. 62.

It was a far cry from the Calvinism then common in Kentucky, to this Semi-Pelagianism taught by Thomas Craighead, and by Barton Stone and his party. John Poage Campbell - the ardent advocate of the one, and the bitter opponent of the other - writing in 1811, thus contrasts the two systems: "Calvinists of every grade and moderate Arminians hold an immediate influence, a positive operation of the Holy Spirit, which is not the word, nor yet in the word as its appropriate attribute, as necessary to incite and powerfully move the souls of men to attend to, to discern, embrace and improve the word of God to their salvation. On the contrary, Mr Craighead teaches us that it is the mind by its own powers which moves to the word of God, embraces it, undergoes its energy, is renewed, lives and hopes for eternal life. The omnipotent principle, whatever it be, is contained in the word as its appropriate, its peculiar and indivisible property. The one system represents God as moving first in the fact of regeneration; and the sinner as acted upon, and then co-operating: the other states that the sinner moves first in believing the word, and obtains regeneration in consequence of this act and the agency of truth as certainly as the effect follows the cause. The schemes are radically and essentially distinct."¹

These opposing systems were based on the age-long philosophical problem of free will and determinism. ~~Early Christian~~ thought had been concerned with the objective phase of religion - the nature of God and the person of Christ, rather than with the subjective or anthropological side - the nature of man. Generally speaking, the Eastern theologians had shown a tendency to emphasise the freedom of the will, while those in the West contended for the necessity of divine assistance, or "grace".

Tertullian /

1. Campbell, Pelagian Detected, p 22.

Tertullian had based his theology on the idea of "original sin", and the phrase which came to express a dogma of the church, was his invention.¹ But while he taught an inheritance of guilt and a corruption of nature, due to the fall of Adam, he never denied the possibility of free-will in man, because of that fall.

However, it was Augustine that moulded this thought into the doctrine which the church, for centuries, has been trying to shake off. He based his theology on the ideas expressed by St. Paul, and as Dr. Rashdahl states, evolved "a system and a view of the character of God at which St. Paul himself, it is probable, would have stood aghast".² Augustine taught that although man was originally endowed with free will that freedom was forever lost through the sin of Adam. He went beyond Tertullian and others in contending that the descendants of Adam were not only born with a hereditary tendency to sin, but actual sinners; the human heart, apart from the supernatural grace of God, was incapable 'of a single good desire or action.' This idea of the total depravity of man, and Augustine's own opinion that a divine love had overpowered him and converted him in spite of himself, led him to contend that sanctification or regeneration was the result of the irresistible grace of God, and that even the ability of man to co-operate was a spontaneous divine endowment.

In opposition to, and as an historical reaction against Augustinianism, we have the guiding thought of the British Monk, Pelagius, that every man is born with a free will - as free as was Adam himself - free to sin or not to sin. Arriving in Rome at the beginning of the fifth century he was shocked at the moral conditions, for he had idealised the "Eternal City". He considered /

1. Rashdahl, The Idea of the Atonement, London, 1920, p. 249.

2. " " " " " " " " p. 335.

considered this indifference toward sin, to be the result of the enervating teachings represented by Augustine's "Confessions" which appeared at about that time. Pelagius attempted to arouse the people to the need of moral effort and man's ability to do his duty without any supernatural grace. He taught that man by his own powers, and without any help from the Holy Spirit could believe the Gospel, obey the law and earn remission of sins and eternal life. After long controversy, and alternating approvals and disapprovals, the teachings of Pelagius were officially condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Again we quote from Dr. Rashdahl: "Pelagianism represents the appeal to reason and conscience against theories which blackened the character of God, and we must be grateful to the men who made the protest, even if it was not made in the right way".¹ The expression, common with the man of the street, that 'God helps those who help themselves', is only a simplified phase of the Pelagian doctrine of grace.

Augustine's victory did not mean that his doctrines were universally believed. There are always certain men whose thoughts are not controlled by legislation. There were theologians who saw faults in both Augustinianism and Pelagianism, and who attempted to build a satisfactory doctrine from the good points of the two opposing systems. They could not accept the teachings of Pelagius, that man was the entire master of his fate, and that Adam's sin had left no mark on the human race. They also rejected Augustine's unconditional predestination, and his opinion that every man was guilty from his birth. The compromise conclusion reached was that sin had influenced all mankind, making them inclined to evil and disinclined to good - that man's moral ability to do and choose aright had been weakened, but not actually /

1. Rashdahl, The Idea of the Atonement, London, 1920. p. 347.

actually destroyed. This doctrine was known as Semi-Pelagianism, and was ably advocated by Cassian and the Massilians. This school of thought affirmed that salvation was for all men, but was dependent upon the faith and determination of the individual. They taught that the first assent to faith was the result of the natural powers of the mind. They did not believe that man could save himself; but that he could take the first step, which would be observed and rewarded by the assistance of the Holy Spirit of God. The Semi-Pelagians said that conversion was resultant partly from the free-will of man, and partly from the grace of God. Their maxim was: "It is mine to be willing to believe, and it is the part of God's grace to assist".¹ The opposition of Augustine and others to the foundational principle of Semi-Pelagianism - that God's grace is extended to man in proportion as he makes the best use of his natural powers - led to its ecclesiastical condemnation by the Synod of Orange in 529. However the doctrine was not eliminated, and has, since that time, been continually present in certain strains of christian thought.

The Reformation theology was based on the teachings of Augustine, and was, in many ways, an exaggeration of that teaching. While Augustine taught that man was free before the fall, Luther contended that even the fall and its consequences were predestined. The "total depravity of human nature" became a chief tenet of both Lutheranism and Calvinism.

The Canons of the Synod of Dort (A.D. 1619) set forth the expanded Calvinistic theories. From Chapter III. we read: "Man was originally formed after the image of God. His understanding was adorned with a true and saving knowledge of his Creator/

1. Smeaton, The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Edinburgh 1889, p. 338.

Creator and of spiritual things; his heart and will were upright, all his affections pure, the whole man holy. Tempted by the devil he fell; and begat children, corrupt not by imitation merely, but by the propagation of a vicious nature in consequence of a just judgment of God.' (Artt. 1 & 2). "All men are thus children of wrath, incapable of any saving good; without regenerating grace, neither able nor willing to return to God, to reform the depravity of their nature, nor to dispose themselves to reformation... (Art. 3)' ... In conversion, God uses His appointed means, and sends his Holy Spirit to soften and regenerate the heart, working a new creation, a resurrection from the dead - a supernatural work, most delightful, astonishing, mysterious, ineffable (Artt 11-12). Faith is therefore to be considered as the gift of God, not as offered to man, to be accepted or rejected at his pleasure, but because it is in reality conferred, breathed and infused into him, and because he who works in man both to will and to do, produces both the will to believe and the act of believing also. (Artt. 14)" We quote again from Chapter I: "'That some receive the gift and others not, proceeds from God's decree, according to which He graciously softens the hearts of the elect, however obstinate, and inclines them to believe; while He leaves the non-elect in His last judgment to their own wickedness and obduracy....' Act(6) Election is of mere grace, sovereign good pleasure, is of a certain number of persons by nature neither better nor more deserving than others(Artt. 7-9) 'The elect cannot be cast away nor their number diminished. In due time (though in various degrees and in different measures) they attain the assurance of their election, not by inquisitively prying into the secret and deep things of God, but by observing in /

in themselves with a spiritual joy and holy pleasure the infallible fruits of election pointed out in the word of God' (Artt. 11-12)."¹

The Westminster Confession, drawn up in 1646 and 1647, was in as far as it dealt with regeneration - as stated by Prof. Curtis - "essentially the positions of the Synod of Dort of 1619, subject to the same criticisms or misunderstandings."² Although born on the Thames this famous creed was due to become not the standard of the English, but of the Scottish Church, and by the emigrants from that northern country, to be firmly planted in the New World.

In New England, the Calvinistic creed of human depravity, which affirmed the corruption of man's whole nature, as the result of Adam's sin, was modified by "Hopkinsianism" which limited that corruption to the heart or will of man, leaving the mental faculties unimpaired. This Hopkinsian distinction between "natural" and "moral" ability was at first regarded as heterodox, but was gradually accepted by the clergy who claimed to be orthodox. However, those who made this distinction, still taught that the opposition of the sinner's heart was so strong as to render the natural ability wholly useless without the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit.

From what source Thomas Craighead derived his theories of the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, we are not told. Theological discussions were centering around this subject during the last half of the eighteenth century. The Puritan theology had so emphasised the distinction between nature and grace as to lead to extravagances of various sorts. There was a tendency to make the work of the spirit everything, and the Bible /

1. Curtis, Creeds and Confessions of Faith, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 242, 246.

2. Curtis, Creeds and Confessions of Faith, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 247.

Bible a dead letter. We see this in the sermons of such men as James McGready. Methodism had emphasised the work of the Holy Spirit, but with the Arminian or Semi-Pelagian idea of free grace. The English Deistical movement had exerted a powerful influence on the minds of the people, and had made of religion only a christian philosophy. We have seen in Kentucky, in the Revival and the Political Deists, the results of these opposing forces. When we recognise the fact that early American thought was largely a continuation of British thought, and that theologically trained Americans would be reading the works of British writers, we can draw our own conclusions as to the influences that would be at work in the minds of such men as Craighead and Stone. There was during this period, a certain group of divines who tried to steer between the two extremes of enthusiastic Methodism and deadening Deism. Perhaps the most ardent advocate of this middle course was Wm. Warburton of the English church - then Bishop of Gloucester. In 1750, he had published "The Doctrine of Grace; or, the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism." In this he attacked both the position of the Deistical philosophers, and the work and teachings of John Wesley; and set forth his own doctrine of the work of the Holy Spirit. Bishop Warburton taught that there had been two distinct operations of the Holy Spirit. The Miraculous indwelling had been given only in the beginning days of the church, and for the purpose of establishing the faith, and assisting the writers in giving the gospel story to future generations. He did not believe that the writers were "but passive organs through which every word and letter were conveyed", but "that the Holy Spirit so directed the pens of these writers, that no considerable error should fall from them", and that the expressions of the Bible correspond /

correspond "to the conditions, tempers and capacities of the writers".¹ The second office of the Spirit which is active in the Church to-day, is that of "THE COMFORTER, who purifies and supports the will".² Warburton did not consider the work of the Holy Spirit in the Calvinistic sense of a miraculous converting power, although as Smeaton tells us, he attempted to "point out the middle way between unbelief and enthusiasm, between such as assert that no divine operation is necessary to improve man's understanding and heart, and such as boast of the personal experience of the supernatural operations of the Spirit."³ This is easily recognised as the position of Craighead and Stone. Warburton's book caused a great stir, and was answered by both parties with whom he disagreed. Religious literature was full of these various doctrines. We do not know, but we might quite rightfully assume, that Thomas Craighead was familiar with these books and this school of thought. At least we know that this position was being taught at that time by the Church of England leaders.

John Poage Campbell, writing in 1806, in opposition to Barton' Stone's views on regeneration states; "If I understand his present opinions from his writings, he does not believe that God either saves or damns any one by an operation of his power God exercises no immediate power, in giving the creature a new nature, or complete sanctification of soul; he has given sinners the gospel of truth, and they have power in themselves to believe - they do so, and through the operation of truth upon their souls they become new creatures - are made holy and like God, and in one word, are saved. The procuring and effective cause of this salvation /

1. The Words of Wm. Warburton, Hurd Edition, London 1811, vol viii, pp. 273-276.

2. The Works of Wm. Warburton, Hurd Edition, London 1811, vol viii, p. 303.

3. Smeaton, The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Edinburgh 1889, p. 371.

salvation, is the word made active by the sinner's faith, not the exercise of divine power. Thus salvation is owing to the creatures', not God's power. Neither does God damn sinners by any exercise of his power: because their curse or misery is the necessary effect of sin in them, and not the infliction or punishment by the hand of God¹..... We (Calvinists) believe that the sinner is never willing to believe the gospel, and be saved upon its humbling terms, till he be made so by the power of God: for the word of God teaches it, and our hearts have felt it ; and we pity from our very souls, the unhappy man, who by blindly ridiculing a doctrine clearly taught in Scripture; a doctrine universally felt and acknowledged by real Christians of every name, makes it evident to all, that he is a stranger to an experience of grace".²

Stone, to clarify his position on salvation, had given a simple illustration. He supposed a beggar dying for want - a rich man offers bread - the beggar stretches out his hand and takes the bread. It was the bread that saved him, and not the hand that received it; yet the bread unless received could not have done it. Christ is the bread of life, offered to a dying world - by faith we receive him - the sinner lives. "Now did the bread of life save him, or faith that received it? All will answer, the bread of life. Though faith cannot save him, yet without it he cannot be saved. There is no more merit in his faith, than in the hand of the beggar which received the bread."³ Campbell objects to this: "But view the case a little differently - Suppose the beggar not only dying for want, but what is the truth, prejudiced against the bread that is offered; looking at it /

1. Campbell, Vindex, p. 29, 30.

2. " " p. 50.

3. Stone, An address to Christian Churches, 1814. pp. 93, 94.

it with jaundiced eye, and craving other food; and then we will have quite another view of the subject, and bring out a far different conclusion".¹

It has been observed that the Calvinistic theory of the consequences of the "fall", not only required a belief in the literal infallibility of the Old Testament, but of the many theories that had been added by the early fathers and the scholastic divines of the middle ages.² Barton Stone, though thoroughly imbued with the spirit of reason, which the Deists had injected into the thought of the time, considered the revelation of God to be the highest authority. He could say, "Neither the philosopher nor the reasoner should ever shake my faith in a doctrine plainly revealed from Heaven."³ Yet, in no sense, did he believe in a verbal or plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. He would have said with Prof. Bartlett that "Hebrew speech is characteristically poetic, metaphorical, symbolic, as distinct from literal or scientific" and that we are to understand them "as the original hearers, for whose understanding they were intended, would naturally have taken them."⁴ In speaking of passages in the Old Testament, where God is pictured as governing the passions of many with an irresistible power, even to the committing of murder, Stone wrote: "God is said to have done many things in scripture, in which the whole connexion proves that he had no agency in effecting.... If God irresistably governed the passions of these people in committing such horrid deeds, might we not as well say that he is the author, and at the head of all the sin and mischief in the world? O what a dark veil we draw over his lovely character He had no more agency than suffering them to be done, or not interposing /

1. Campbell, Vindex, p. 58.

2. Rashdall, The Idea of the Atonement, London, 1920, pp.420, 421.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger, ii, p. 12.

4. Bate, Faith and Order, London, 1927 p. 293.

interposing to prevent them ... So he does not prevent any of the countless sins committed daily in the world. This would be to destroy the liberty of man and consequently would marr the glorious work of God."¹

All of Stone's reasoning was centred around the idea of God as love; and with that great love ever wooing mankind from its waywardness. God, to him, was pictured in the love and mercy and forgiveness of Jesus. The unapproachable God of wrath, who would rather the entire human race should perish than that one of his smallest commands should be broken, was, to him, a foreign conception. He could never agree to ascribe to God a character so unjust, that should an earthly sovereign imitate it, he would be deemed a barbarian, and despised by all right thinking men. Stone's God was always moral, rather than judicial and vindictive. He wrote: "That God is love, is the darling theme of the Apostle John. This beloved disciple had drunk deeply into this spirit, and had become a rich partaker of the divine nature. Through all his writings love pre-eminently shines - a full vein of it runs through every page. 'God is love', he repeats with ecstasy. - 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life'. The love of Christ led him to die for all - and this had laid all that live under obligations to live to him. The love of God to all can never be made to comport with that doctrine so universally received by professed christians, that God regenerates or changes the heart by physical power, and thus makes it willing and able to believe and obey. On this mistake men have been driven to extremes - by this have Calvinists and Universalists been made.

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, iii, p. 162. See also vol. vii, p. 206.

made. Both admit that God regenerates or renews the soul by physical power - Hence the Universalist concludes, that if God so loved the world, he must and will save all, or contradict his nature. - The Calvinist admits his conclusion just, provided God did so love the whole world - but they deny that he loved the whole world, but that part only which he sovereignly chose and gave to his Son; and for this part only Christ died, and purchased salvation. The arguments of Calvinists against Universalists are weighty - and those of Universalists against Calvinists are equally so. There is no possibility of reconciling these contradictory doctrines. Neither of them can be true, measured by the scriptural rule, because each contradicts stubborn facts, and involves many palpable absurdities. On the partial love of God, and physical power in regenerating, the whole system of Calvinism is founded; and on the universal love of God, and physical power in regenerating, is founded the system of Universalism. We believe that God loved the world, the whole lost world, and sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world - that God saves or regenerates by his word of gospel, believed and obeyed by the sinner. That the ungodly sinner, not the regenerated sinner, believes unto salvation, and righteousness, and not because he is saved, made righteous or regenerated. God can do^{no} more for the sinner than he has done by his Son Jesus Christ in the gospel plan. Sinners are capable of believing or obeying him - if they do, they shall be saved - if they do not they shall be damned. This is the purpose and decree of God, from which he will not depart in his conduct towards man."¹

He /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, Vol vi, p. 281.

He objects to the doctrines of original sin¹ and total depravity, and claims that neither holiness nor sinfulness are necessary parts of human nature - that human nature existed before sin. Adam was not created a holy being. "Holiness is to love God with all the heart, and to act in perfect accordance with this principle. Now it is certain that Adam did not love God before he knew him, for such love is irrational and unnatural, and infinitely foreign from virtue - nor could he know God before he existed; a non-entity cannot be the subject of knowledge - can know nothing".² Stone defined human nature as the body and soul of man. It came from the hand of the Creator, undefiled by any pollution, physically and morally perfect. As soon as Adam recognised God as his creator, he loved him and chose him as his portion - then he became holy. But he refused to keep God's commandments, and he became sinful. Sin and holiness are moral qualities.³ "If holiness had been a concreated part of human nature, then would mankind have been holy from necessity; they could not sin unless their nature were physically changed. Had sin been a concreated part of human nature, then mankind could not be holy unless their natures were physically changed. They must sin from necessity. It is from ignorance, or inattention to this plain truth, that we hear so much of the physical operations of the spirit, by which human nature is changed, physically changed - new powers infused, as a moral taste - vivid perception &c., and also powers and faculties removed. All this mystic system has grown out of this profilic soil of error".⁴ God, after creating all things, ordained /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol ix, pp. 6-10.
2. " " " vol iii, p. 129.
3. " " " vol vi, p. 80
4. " " " vol.vi, p. 81.

first cry of the infant denotes death, and something is given him to quiet the pain. The child grows to the years of accountability - to the time when he knows good from evil. Up to that time he has been entirely sensual, the animal appetites have been indulged and have increased in strength. Good and evil are presented to him; he is taught that certain things are wrong. He often chooses that wrong, and hardens himself against the truth. He repeatedly indulges the appetites and rebels against truth, until he becomes a hardened sinner. Men are not natural sinners, but become such by voluntary acts, or transgressions of the holy law of God.¹

Barton Stone, writing in 1835, said: "The word of the Lord with the evidences of its divinity, is so plain that sinners, though fallen and greatly depraved can, and do by attention, believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and through faith they can repent, reform and obey the gospel and receive salvation, remission and the Holy Spirit. This is the doctrine of the Bible, every where taught, in the New Testament especially. For this doctrine we strenuously contend, and have contended for many painful years. For this doctrine some of us were, more than thirty years ago, condemned as intolerable heretics, and driven from the ranks of orthodoxy".²

Two reasons have been advanced why men cannot believe the gospel. The Deists and Sceptics say the evidence is not sufficient. The "mystic theologians say, because the natural capacity of man is deficient, or not capable of receiving the evidence, though it is complete. Either of these reasons is equally derogatory to God. To require us to believe when the evidence /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi, p. 82; ix, pp. 6-10. Compare Swete, The Forgiveness of Sins, London, 1917.: "Sin in man is an act of the will, which chooses evil in preference to good, the world instead of God". p. 37.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol ix, p. 55.

evidence is defective or insufficient, is to require an impossibility - and to require us to believe, when the evidence is above the comprehension of our natural capacities, is also an impossibility. We dare not dishonour God by admitting either of these reasons."¹

Barton Stone believed that the Bible teaches that the whole work of regeneration and salvation from sin, is the work of the Holy Spirit. It is also plain that God does this work through his word, and through that word as believed by us. Truth is the means or instrumental cause of sanctification, regeneration, and salvation. The word of God is the sword of the spirit, but it is not, as pictured by some, inert and useless until wielded by the Almighty Spirit. If that were true, Paul would not have said "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." We dare not say that the Word of God is as powerless as the word of a man - as that written in an almanac or a newspaper. "The word of God is given by the Spirit to us, as the means to be used not by the Spirit but by ourselves, in order to obtain the regeneration, salvation and sanctification of our souls."²

Barton Stone denied the "direct divine agency" so much spoken of, if that "means, that God works directly on the hearts of unbelievers without their faith in the word, and brings them, by this direct, powerful and secret agency, to faith and obedience." But he admitted "direct divine agency" in that "God does work in the believer, through faith and obedience".³ In answer to the oft-quoted verse "The wind bloweth where it listeth; thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth, so is every one born of the Spirit."/

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi, p. 38.

Stone, An Address to Christian Churches, 1814, p. 86.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vii, p. 46.

3. " " " vol vii, p. 263, vol viii p. 266.

spirit", - he replied: "So we hear the sound of the Spirit in the scriptures, and feel his divine effects in regenerating and sanctifying our souls. This effect is produced in us by hearing, believing, and obeying the truth, or the sound of the Spirit in the scriptures. Does any expect to hear any other sound or voice of the Spirit than in the scriptures? - or does any expect to receive the Spirit, or his operations, but by faith and obedience? If he does we should be glad to see it proved by the scriptures - any other proof to us, is as light as air. We repeat our unwavering conviction, that the word of truth is the means of our regeneration, sanctification, salvation, and of every divine grace - that this means is given to man by God our Saviour - that he has required man to believe and obey it in order that he may obtain the blessing. If man does not believe nor obey, these blessings he shall not obtain. This we believe to be God's plan of saving sinners."¹

Stone says that some appear to make the scriptures every thing in regeneration; others to make them nothing. To summarise his own position without the use of any technical terms, and that all might understand fully, he gives an illustration, which we will quote at length:

"1. Suppose God should extend his arm from heaven, and give to me, a poor sinner, the Bible; and should thus address me, Take this book - in it are all things necessary for you to know, believe and do - but you cannot know, believe, nor do them till I, in my sovereign time and way, give my Holy Spirit to enlighten and renew your minds. On this plan, it would be consummate folly in me to attempt to know, believe or do anything contained in the book What folly would it be to make a sacrifice /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vii, p. 47.

sacrifice of so much labour, money and human life in printing and sending the Bible to the Heathen nations! What a heartless work to preach it to sinners in the land of Bibles! Can it be consistent with infinite goodness, that God should require a sinner to know and believe what is unknowable? and to do what is impossible? What should we think of a father, who should require of his little son, born blind, to read a book, and should unmercifully abuse him for not doing it? Could we conceive of a character more hateful? Will any apply this to God without trembling? If it be not blasphemy, I know not by what name to call it. This represents the theory of immediate operations of the Spirit in the salvation of the soul.

"2. Suppose God should hand me, a poor sinner, the Bible, and should thus address me. - Take this book - in it are all things necessary for you to know, believe and do - there is nothing in it, but can be known, believed and done by you - by this book regenerate, quicken and save yourself - expect no other power, help or aid from me. This is the extreme from the former plan, and appears to me equidistant from truth, and equally dangerous to the souls of men. On this plan it would be folly, if not presumption to pray to God for his Spirit, or for any help or blessing: To be consistent, is not to pray at all, but to labour incessantly to save our souls by the means of the word. The former plan has no use for the word; it is nothing - it is entirely kept in the background out of view - the latter makes the word everything; and attributes too much to it; it seems to put it in the place of God himself, and makes it the agent, rather than the means. This plan is philosophy christianised. It may make a moralist; but not a spiritual christian

"3. /

"3. Suppose God should from heaven, hand me, a poor sinner the Bible, and should thus address me: Take this book - in it are all things necessary for you to know, believe and do. - it is intelligible and credible, and suited to your capacity, - in it are exceedingly great and precious promises to the obedient believer - believe and obey what is there written, and I will give you the Holy Spirit, a new heart, a right spirit; I will give you every promise of the New Covenant for time and eternity. On this plan I should be encouraged to activity and obedience, in the confident expectation of the divine aid, and the fulfillment of every promise".¹

Stone differed from the orthodox in that he made faith precede regeneration and the gift of the Holy Spirit. But he believed with them, that the christian really received something from God when he became a saved man. He believed that there was a physical operation of the Spirit on the mind of the believer. By this, he did not mean that miraculous operation by which those of the early church performed miracles and spoke with other tongues. The power of working miracles ceased when it was no longer needed to establish the truth.² Stone states: "Because we deny that the spirit operates physically and mystically in the unbelieving sinner to bring him to faith and obedience, we are accused by the orthodox world of denying the operations of the spirit We most assuredly believe in the operations of the spirit in the obedient believers. But until the sinner does believe and obey, we have no promise of such operations for him".³

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v, pp. 206, 207.
2. " " " vol vii p. 134, 91.
3. " " " vol.vii p. 233.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BEGINNING YEARS OF THE "CHRISTIAN CHURCH" IN KENTUCKY.

1. Organization and Growth.

That religious communion which grew out of the Kentucky Secession, and which was known as the "Christian Church", historically dates its beginning from June 28th, 1804, when six ministers signed the "Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery." Although intended to be somewhat humorous, it outlines the basis on which these people intended to carry on their religious societies. So important is it considered by the historians of that church, that it is here quoted in its entirety.

"The Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery.

"For where a testament is, there must of necessity be the death of the testator; for a testament is of force after men are dead, otherwise it is of no strength at all, while the testator liveth. Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. Verily, verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground, and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. Whose voice then shook the earth; but now he hath promised, saying, yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, yet once more, signifies the removing of those things that are shaken as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.-

"LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, &c.

"The Presbytery of Springfield, sitting at Caneridge, in the county of Bourbon, being, through a gracious Providence, in /

in more than ordinary bodily health, growing in strength and size daily; and in perfect soundness and composure of mind; but knowing that it is appointed for all delegated bodies once to die; and considering that the life of every such body is very uncertain, do make, and ordain this our last Will and Testament, in manner and from following, viz:

"Imprimis. We will, that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the Body of Christ at large; for there is but one body, and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling.

"Item. We will, that our name of distinction, with its Reverend title be forgotten, that there be but one Lord over God's heritage, and his name one.

"Item. We will, that our power of making laws for the government of the church, and executing them by delegated authority, forever cease; that the people may have free course to the Bible, and adopt the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

"Item. We will, that candidates for the Gospel ministry, henceforth study the Holy Scriptures with fervent prayer, and obtain license from God to preach the simple Gospel, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, without any mixture of philosophy, vain deceit, traditions of men, or the rudiments of the world. And let none henceforth take this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.

"Item. We will, that the church of Christ resume her native right of internal government - try her candidates for the ministry, as to their soundness in the faith, acquaintance with experimental religion, gravity and aptness to teach; and admit no other proof of their authority but Christ speaking in them /

them. We will that the church of Christ look up to the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest; and that she resume her primitive right of trying those who say they are apostles, and are not.

"Item. We will, that each particular church, as a body, actuated by the same spirit, choose her own preacher, and support him by a free will offering, without a written call or subscription - admit members - remove offences; and never henceforth delegate her right of government to any man or set of men whatever.

"Item. We will, that the people henceforth take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven; and as many as are offended with other books, which stand in competition with it, may cast them into the fire if they choose; for it is better to enter into life having one book, than having many to be cast into hell.

"Item. We will, that preachers and people, cultivate a spirit of mutual forbearance; pray more and dispute less; and while they behold the signs of the times, look up, and confidently expect that redemption draweth nigh.

"Item. We will, that our weak brethren, who may have been wishing to make the Presbytery of Springfield their King, and wot not what is now become of it, betake themselves to the Rock of Ages, and follow Jesus for the future.

"Item. We will, that the Synod of Kentucky examine every member, who may be suspected of having departed from the Confession of Faith, and suspend every such suspected heretic immediately; in order that the oppressed may go free, and taste the sweets of gospel liberty.

"Item. We will, that Ja _____, the author of two letters /

letters lately published in Lexington, be encouraged in his zeal to destroy partyism. We will, moreover, that our past conduct be examined into by all who may have correct information; but let foreigners beware of speaking evil of things which they know not.

"Item. Finally we will, that all our sister bodies read their Bibles carefully, that they may see their fate there determined, and prepare for death before it is too late.

Springfield Presbytery,)
June 28th, 1804) L.S.

Robert Marshall,)	
John Dunlavy,)	
Richard M'Nemar,)	
B.W. Stone,)	Witnesses." ¹
John Thompson,)	
David Purviance,)	

In the congregations of the seceding ministers, the Presbyterian form of government was carried on for some time, but with considerable changes; even before the dissolution of the "Springfield Presbytery," democratic principles were introduced into the churches. From the records of the Turtle Creek Church, ministered to by Richard M'Nemar, and under the date of April 20th, 1804, we get a picture of the plan upon which the churches, then called "Schismatics," were generally organized. They read as follows: "The session taking into consideration the propriety of a more close attention to the government and discipline of the Church, think it expedient to state to the people at large, who have considered themselves under our care, the following observations, on that subject.

I. We think it the privilege of the Church mutually to profess their regard to the Holy Scriptures, as the only rule of faith and practice, the only standard of doctrine and discipline. II. We think the eldership ought not to form a separate /

1. Stone, Autobiography, pp. 51-53; M'Nemar, Revival, pp. 154-156.

separate body distinct from the Church itself, or go out of doors secretly to transact such business, as concerns the body of the people at large. III. We think it tends to keep the body of the people in the dark, and obstruct a real spirit of communion, to examine and admit members - try causes of scandal - censure - rebuke - reprove, or suspend in secret, or to transact privately by the representatives of the people, such, or any other business of a public nature. IV. We think it expedient, in order to the due exercise of government and discipline, that all who believe should be together in one place... We therefore recommend that the Church constitute in the place for public worship.... Moreover, that the foregoing observations be publicly read in the congregation, and the voice of the Church taken on the expediency of immediately reducing them to practice."¹ This was duly signed by six men, supposedly elders - Malcham Worley and Richard M'Nemar included - and voted affirmatively by seventy-four members of the congregation, who, after the audience was dismissed, took their seats as members of the Church. It was then agreed that they should do away with the use of lead tokens, and that the names "Brother" and "Sister" be used among the members.²

These democratic Churches flourished and it seemed that the entire Presbyterian church would go with them. Richard M'Nemar tells us that by the end of the year 1804, there were regular societies at Turtle Creek, Eagle Creek, Springfield, Orangedale, Salem, Beaver Creek, Clear Creek, &c. in Ohio; and at Cabin Creek, Flemingsburg, Concord, Caneridge, Indian Creek, Bethel, Paint Lick, Shawny Run, &c. in Kentucky; "besides an innumerable multitude, dispersed among the people, in /

The Kentucky

1. M'Nemar, *Revival*, pp. 44, 45.

2. M'Nemar, *Revival*, pp. 45, 46.

in Tenn., N. Car., Va., and the western parts of Penn."¹

Barton Stone wrote that the churches and preachers multiplied so rapidly that they "began to be puffed up with their prosperity."² The Presbyterian church had, on pain of censure, or exclusion from their communion, forbidden their people to worship with the "Christians." This, of course, caused many of the Presbyterians to join them.

2. The Shaker Invasion.

However, very soon the line of battle was to be changed; from their offensive warfare against human names and creeds, they were forced to entrench themselves against an invading foe. In the spring of 1805, three men arrived from the East; they visited the Christians and told them how they had rejoiced in the work of God among them, but that they had been sent to teach the way of the Lord more perfectly. These men were John Meacham, Benjamin S. Youngs, and Issachar Bates, missionaries from the Shaker church at New Lebanon, town of Canaan, in New York.³

The Shakers were a small fanatical sect, located mostly in the state of New York, and not known throughout the country. They taught that Christ had made his second appearance on earth, and this time in the body of a woman. Ann Lee was born in Manchester, England, about 1736, the daughter of a blacksmith who resided in Toad-lane. Her occupation was that of a cutter of hatter's fur. She had married Abraham Standley, a blacksmith, by whom she had four children, all of whom died in infancy. About 1758 she became a disciple of James Wardley, a tailor by trade, who was the real founder of the Shakers /

1. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 73.

2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 61. (See Christian Messenger, vol. vi. p. 199.

3. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revival, p. 80.

Shakers. Wardley was originally a Quaker, but imagining that he had some supernatural revelations he left them, and founded a sect, that from the bodily exercises practiced in their religious services, soon began to be called Shaking Quakers, and later just Shakers. His followers were greatly agitated by these shakings, and were given to singing, shouting and walking the floor, all under the supposed influence of spiritual power, "shoving each other about, or swiftly passing or repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind." Wardley predicted that the second appearance of Christ was near at hand. Under these teachings, Mrs. Standley became one of the most violent subjects of these physical exercises - "so determined was she to attain perfection." Finally, about 1770, she discovered that she was Christ in his second appearing; and that "the root and foundation cause of human depravity" was the intercourse between the sexes. Soon after she began her testifying, the people of Manchester caused her to be locked in the mad house for some weeks. In a few years, finding that her testimony was universally rejected, she received a revelation, telling her to go to America. Accordingly, in May 1774, with several of her followers, she set sail from Liverpool; as her husband's name was not mentioned among the party, it is presumed that, in devotion to her cause, she had left him behind. In America she was known as Ann Lee. These Shakers settled in New York, and drew to themselves many followers,¹ chiefly from the Baptists. Ann Lee died in 1784, but after her death James Whitaker and Joseph Meachem, were, in turn, the leaders of the sect, until their respective deaths in 1787 and 1796. At the time the missionaries /

1. Robert Baird, writing in 1844, gives their number in U.S. as 6,000 or 8,000 (p. 284).

missionaries were sent to Kentucky, Lucy Wright was standing "in the order of the first mother of their redemption;" and, so sanctified was she, that she slept every night in the meeting-house.¹ The church at New Lebanon was the largest and most influential group of Shakers in the United States.

The cardinal teaching of this religious communion, was, as expressed in their own words, "that Christ has come the second time without sin to salvation, and that he dwelt in Anna Lee, and was by and in her revealed to those who were looking for him."² They owned her as their spiritual parent; and that she was "the first Mother in the new creation, of all who were saved, as really as Jesus the Lord, hers and ours, is the first Father; and that she is coheirress with him, in the honor and glory of our redemption"³.... As the Word was first revealed in one, who was the man Jesus, so last of all it is revealed the second time in the one woman, who is called Mother."⁴ They practised community of goods, each convert turning his or her property into the common treasury, to be administered by the deacons of the church. In accordance with their theory of the "root of human depravity", and with the Bible teaching that in heaven there shall be no marriage or giving in marriage, they taught that "they who have wives should be as though they had none." The men and women lived apart; the boys were sent into the male apartments, and the girls into the female. They taught that they were the true messengers and witnesses of Christ, "in whom the Spirit of truth continually abides, and that whatever instruction, reproof, or council is ministered by such, it comes from Christ, who speaketh in him. Therefore all who are taught in this /

1. John Poage Campbell, *Evangelical Record*, vol. i. Mar. 1812.
2. Dunlavy, *The Manifesto*, p. 490.
3. Dunlavy, *The Manifesto*, p. 501.
4. Dunlavy, *The Manifesto*, p. 505.

this manner are strictly and properly taught of God; and in obeying what they are taught,¹ they yield obedience to Christ Upon this ground the believer has to make a final settlement with an old systematic idea, that the Spirit of God speaketh invariably in the Scriptures."² Consequently, they did away with all public prayer, for "there is no more occasion for calling upon God afar off, when he has taken possession of his body, and lives and walks with him, nor of calling to his memory a departed Saviour, by signs and shadows of his dying love; when the only Saviour that ever redeemed a lost soul, is formed and living in him,³ and executing every branch of his office." They did away with baptism and the Lord's Supper, considering that those things had ceased with the old age - "Water applied to the body appears a beggarly element,⁴ compared with the baptism of the Spirit."⁵

Such were the teachings and practices of the people commonly called "Shakers;" but of them, these Kentuckians had never heard.⁶ With true frontier hospitality, Bates, Meachem and Young, were graciously received. Barton Stone tells us that "their appearance was prepossessing - their dress was plain and neat - they were grave and unassuming at first in their manners, and very intelligent and ready in the Scriptures."⁷ They arrived in Kentucky about the first of March 1805 /

1. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 89.

2. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 91.

3. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 91.

4. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 91.

5. Robert Baird, in his "Religion in America," writes of these people as a sect: "In their religious worship, they range themselves at intervals in rows, and then spring upward a few inches; sometimes, however they become so excited in this exercise as to throw off their upper garments, and jump as if they would touch the ceiling - all, as they say, to express their joy in the Lord. After this they sit down and listen a while to their preachers, and then, when tired of hearing, resume their dancing freaks."

6. Richard M'Nemar that their visit to his house was the first means by which he knew that such a church or people, existed upon earth." M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals p. 81.

7. Stone, Autobiography, p. 62.

1805,¹ and visited a few days at Paint Lick and Caneridge, where they were kindly entertained. From there they travelled to Ohio, visited Springfield, and passed on to Turtle Creek - the neighbourhood in which Richard M'Nemar preached. They arrived there on March 22nd, stayed over night with Malchan Worley, and the next day came to the home of Richard M'Nemar. There they spent the day discussing various points of religion. The next day being Sunday, and these men having especially requested to do so, they addressed the Christian Church at Turtle Creek. Richard M'Nemar writes of this: "I was sensible the spirit of the revival, as well as that of our wholesome government, imposed no restrictions on any man, from testifying his faith; nor bound the conscience of any from hearing who ever they chose. And upon this principle, the door was fully opened for them to make any labours at Turtle Creek, either in public or private, to which they conceived they were commissioned."² Accordingly, these men openly preached their doctrines. They told the people how they had heard of the great revival and the wonderful good it had accomplished; they testified that as Christ had now made a second and final appearing, he demanded a final settlement with men. They taught that the subjects of the revival must either embrace the present call of God denying themselves even as Christ had done, or sink back into a worse state than ever before.³

These Shaker emissaries, thus introduced and given free course, began to teach their doctrines from house to house, in that community, with the result that soon Malcham Worley and Richard M'Nemar, with ten or twelve other families in the /

1. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 80.

2. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 81.

3. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 83.

the Turtle Creek congregation, had "taken up their cross," and adopted the new faith. In June the work broke out at Eagle Creek, the congregation of John Dunlavy, the brother-in-law of Richard M'Nemar. Dunlavy, in his "Manifesto" tells us that, having been warned,¹ by his former brethren, against these men he opposed their teachings for a time; but being convinced that the Shakers were right, in July he threw in his lot with them. Matthew Houston, another of the leading ministers of the Christian Church, also accepted the new revelation.

However, Barton Stone and John Thompson violently opposed the activities of the Shakers. Stone, in a letter written to Richard M'Nemar, before that minister had accepted these new teachings, and dated from Caneridge, April 2, 1805, states: "Certain men from afar whom you know, inject terror and doubt into many; and now religion begins to lament in the dust among us. Some as I suppose will cast away the ordinances of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, &c. but not many as yet. Most dear Brother, inform me what you think of these men among us and you, from a distant region. Thank God he gave me his word."² He says that never did he exert himself more than at this time, in the attempt to save his people from "this vortex of ruin." He laboured day and night among the churches where the Shakers went, in an attempt to check their influence.

John Thompson, too, opposed them most bitterly. In a letter dated from Springfield, April 5, 1805, he writes: "It matters not to me who they are, who are the devil's tools, whether men or angels, good or bad. In the strength of God I mean not to spare... I would they even were cut off who trouble /

1. Dunlavy, The Manifesto, p. 472.

2. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals p. 86.

trouble you. I mean in the name and strength of God to lift his rod of almighty truth against the viper."¹ On April the 27th, Thompson in his determination to counteract the work of these men, went to Turtle Creek, and taking the meeting out of the hands of M'Nemar, denounced these men and made a public investigation of their doctrines; and again, at a meeting on May the 11th, he refused the privilege of speaking, to "one whom he had long acknowledged his equal, and his guide (supposedly, McNemar) - excluding all who believed the testimony, from any further communion or fellowship with the Christians."² Richard M'Nemar contends that this was not exactly right, since it was in pointed contradiction to their general Christian plan, "Let none be excommunicated, but for a breach of the Divine law."³

At a general meeting held with Barton Stone's congregation at Concord, the "second sabbath in August," Dunlavy, Young and Worley, who were in attendance, were forbidden to speak on pain of being prosecuted as disturbers of the meeting. On the last day of this gathering, six of the Christian brethren - J. Thompson, R. Marshall, B.W. Stone, D. Purviance, J. Stockwell and A. Brannon - each delivered an address in which he gave his opinion of the Shakers. These violent measures, although somewhat in opposition to their supposed democracy, tended to check the spread of the Shaker doctrines among the people of the "Christian Church." These three missionaries - Meacham, Young and Bates - then turned their attention to the religious bodies in Kentucky, and soon became the general enemies /

1. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 99.
2. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 102.
3. M'Nemar, The Kentucky Revivals, p. 102.

enemies of the churches."¹ Barton Stone writes in his Autobiography: "The sects triumphed at our distress, and watched for our fall, as Jonah watched the fall of Ninevah under the shadow of his gourd. But a worm at the root of Jonah's gourd killed it, and deprived him of its shade, and brought on him great distress. So the worm of Shakerism was busy at the root of all the sects, and brought on them great distress; for multitudes of them, both preachers and common people, also joined the Shakers. Our reproach was rolled away."² But terrible inroads had been made in the ranks of the Christians. M'Nemar and Dunlavy, two of the five seceding Presbyterian ministers,³ were lost, never to be regained. They both became leaders among the Shakers, writing /

1. James McGready, the great revival leader, in a private letter dated July 25, 1809, and written from Harrison county, Kentucky, tells of the conditions in that community: "The Presbyterian church in this place has been almost entirely annihilated. The Shakers made the first attack and carried away a large wing of it - The Socinians or Marshalites are now taking away the remainder."
(Original hand-written letter, Wilson Papers).
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 63.
John Rankin, one of the great revival leaders in the Cumberland Country, became a leader among the Shakers.
(Rankin, Autobiography, p. 41).
3. In Sept., 1805, Stone wrote: "You have heard, no doubt, before this time, of the lamentable departure of two of our preachers, and a few of their hearers, from true gospel into wild enthusiasm, or shakerism. They have made shipwreck of faith, and turned aside to an old woman's fables, who broached them in New England about twenty-five years ago. While we weep for them, many rejoice, and hope and expect this will be the end of us all. But we find that nothing new has happened under the sun. Of the twelve who followed Christ, one proved a devil, and another denied him"

(Reply to John P. Campbell's Strictures, p. 67.)

writing and publishing books for them.

3. The Atonement Controversy.

Shortly before the arrival of the Shakers, Barton Stone's mind had become embarrassed on the doctrine of the Atonement. He had believed and taught that "Christ died as a substitute or surety in our stead, and that he died to make satisfaction to law and justice for our sins, in order to our justification."¹ This was the recognized Calvinistic doctrine of that time and place. In his attempt to reorganize and systematize his theology, so that it would conform with his ruling conception of God as love, Stone could find no place for that doctrine of the atonement which was rooted in the idea of an angry God, who was always demanding blood sacrifices, before he would consent to be reconciled to a disobedient but penitent world. He examined the system of Atonement taught by the various religious parties - Calvinism, Universalism, Fullerism, Methodism, etc. - but found unanswerable objections in each. He rejected all of these, and centred his thinking around the thought of the Atonement as an expression of the love of God to man, and as a reconciliation, not of God to man, but of man to God. This line of thought will not seem strange to the modern Christian, for with it we have learned to associate the names of Frederick Denison Maurice, M'Leod Campbell, R.C. Moberly, Hastings Rashdahl, and others, who have been trying to get away from the idea of an injured Father and a victimized Son. This same tendency was then found in the religious thought of New /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 56.

New England,¹ as a reaction against the theology of Edwards, who insisted that God could not be just to Himself, without a vindication proportionate to the greatness of the majesty despised. But this was not orthodox teaching in Kentucky during the early days of the nineteenth century.

.....

Early in 1805, Stone published a pamphlet entitled, "Atonement, The Substance of Two Letters written to a Friend," in which he set forth his own theory of the Atonement, in opposition to that generally received. John Poage Campbell, his former friend, now assumed the role of theological opponent, and promptly answered with "Strictures" on the Letters, which, as Stone said, were "very severe in language, but as good as his cause afforded him."² Accordingly, in September, Stone issued "A Reply to John P. Campbell's Strictures on Atonement." Campbell, in turn, answered this with his "Vindex," which Stone remarks was "too vindictive to merit a reply; and thus the controversy between us closed." It seems from our meagre evidence, that Stone must have won the applause of the public in his brief disputation, for Davidson, who is very partisan in his views, tells us that the "styles of the combatants were as opposite as their sentiments:" that Campbell's logic was "over the heads of the people, and failed to make the desired impression upon that very class of the community who most needed it;" While Stone's style "was suited to the minds he sought to reach - the shrewd though uneducated mass of the people. He wrote as if he meant to be understood, and cared for nothing beyond this. The novelty and boldness of his attacks /

1. In the pages of the "Christian Messenger," the religious periodical which Stone published from 1826 till his death in 1843, he often approvingly refers to the treatise by Noah Worcester, entitled "The Atoning Sacrifice, a Display of Love, not of Wrath."

2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 59.

attacks on the Confession attracted their admiration; the startling and plausible fallacies which he advanced with an air of specious candour, stimulated their curiosity; the sneers in which he indulged against systematic and antiquated dogmas, harmonized with their natural love of independence, and made them unsuspecting of danger from so frank and unpretending a source

He ridiculed the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, in regard to the Federal Covenant with Adam; the Wrath of God whom he represented as eternal and unchangeable Love, not needing to be reconciled to sinners but requiring^{them} to be reconciled to him; the Suretyship and Imputed Righteousness of Christ; and his paying the Penalty of Law."¹

In the "Letters" which Stone published, he frankly states that his views on religion are different from those he formerly held. In the first Letter, he presents the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, which, when so briefly expressed without the limiting explanations, gives a somewhat perverted interpretation; in the second Letter, he sets forth what he considers the true view of the death of Christ.

He thus summarises the teachings of the Confession: 'God entered into a covenant with Adam, by which he bound him and all his posterity to personal, entire and perpetual obedience; promised life upon the fulfilling, and threatened death upon the breach of it. This covenant was the moral law. Adam broke the covenant, and he and his posterity were bound over to the wrath of God, and curse of the law, made subject to death, with all miseries, temporal, spiritual and eternal. Christ Jesus, the second person of the adorable trinity, becomes /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, pp. 204, 205.

becomes their surety. Christ as surety of man fulfilled the precept of the law, and suffered the curse or penalty of it, in their room and stead. By this obedience and death of Christ, he made a proper, real and full satisfaction to God's justice in behalf of them that are justified. But if Christ was surety of all men in this sense, then all must be saved. To remove this difficulty it is affirmed that Christ was surety for a part of mankind only, which were the elect given to him from eternity; for these only he lived and died; for these only he reconciled God and procured his favour; and these only are effectually called and saved. But lest some of the non-elect should take encouragement and believe, it is affirmed that none can believe till wrought upon, and enabled by the spirit. The non-elect, for not believing and for rejecting the offered grace, shall be damned.¹

Stone's own view, as set forth in the Letters and later publications - for from this doctrine he did not depart - shall also be given briefly, for the limits of a historical review will not permit a thorough discussion of the Atonement theory.

Atonement was defined as reconciliation. To support this, scriptures were produced - particularly Lev. 16:18-20, "And he shall go out unto the altar, that is before the Lord, and make an atonement for it; and shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of the blood of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about - and when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place and the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, &c."² He remarks that "the translators have rendered the Hebrew word 'keper', and the Greek word 'kattallage', sometimes 'atonement', and sometimes 'reconciliation' /

1. Stone, Letters on Atonement, p. 4.

2. Stone, An Address to Christian Churches,¹⁸¹⁴ p. 24;
Christian Messenger, vol. ii. p. 81.

'reconciliation'." With Prof. Swete,¹ he speaks of the reconciliation or at-one-ment as meaning to make at-one, or to reconcile. Thus in Acts 7: 26, we read, "And the next day he shewed himself to them as they strove, and would have set them at one; that is, he would have reconciled them."² As authority for this interpretation, Stone also quotes from Browne's Dictionary of the Bible: "Atonement - When the word is divided into syllables, its meaning will be evident to every reader - At-one-ment. Thus to atone is to make one, or to reconcile parties at variance; and to make atonement is to bring about reconciliation and peace."³

"Between the holy God and holy man existed a close and sweet union - Sin broke this union. 'Your iniquities have separated between you and your God.' Isaiah 59: 2 - Christ came, lived, died and rose again for the purpose of destroying this separation, or of taking away sin, and thus to at-one or reconcile us to God - This at-one-ment, reconciliation, or union between the holy God and unholy man is impossible, till man is purged or cleansed from sin by the blood of Christ and made holy as God is holy. 2 Cor. 6: 14-16. Then, and not till then, can they be reconciled; for God's holy nature, his holy law, and government, can never be at-one with man's unholy nature, nor can man's unholy nature ever be at-one with God's holy nature. One of the two must be changed into the nature of the other before a reconciliation can be effected. God cannot change; therefore, man must, or remain forever separated from God."⁴

Stone taught that atonement implies a change. But God is /

1. Swete, The Forgiveness of Sins, London, 1917, p. 157.
2. Stone, An Address to Christian Churches,¹⁸⁴ p. 25.
3. Quoted in Christian Messenger, vol. iv. p. 4.
4. Christian Messenger vol. ii, p. 182:
1814, Address, pp. 25, 26.

is infinitely perfect and cannot change; therefore the change must take place in man. Therefore, atonement is practically the same as regeneration. In answer to the thought that Christ came to be a propitiation - "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." Rom. 3: 25 - Stone replied that it is man that is propitiated. "To propitiate signifies to appease. From the text it is plain that propitiation takes place through faith in the blood of Christ. This cannot be applied to God, for he is unchangeable; he cannot be appeased, because he never had wrath in him, as before proved. Besides we cannot think that God is propitiated through faith in the blood of Christ; because we never read of him acting faith in his blood, or being influenced by it. Therefore we must conclude that we receive the propitiation, or are propitiated to God through faith in the blood of Christ.¹

"The New Testament everywhere represents us as reconciled or atoned to God by the death of his Son; but no where represents God as reconciled or atoned to us by the death of Jesus."² Stone declares that nowhere in the Bible is Christ called the surety of man, elect or non-elect. The Bible does not teach the imputed righteousness of Christ, or of his paying our debt of obedience to law, or of our debt of suffering to justice.³ "Where is it said that the blood of Christ reconciled God? Where is it said that his blood purchased an everlasting inheritance? Where is it said, that his blood made a proper, real and full satisfaction to the Father's justice for the elect, or for any one? Where is it said, that his obedience and death discharged our debts? Where is it said, to have made God /

1. Stone, Letters on Atonement, p. 21.

2. Christian Messenger ii, 34, 182: Letters on Atonement, p. 21.

3. Christian Messenger ii, 116.

God just in justifying the ungodly? I know he was set forth a mercy seat to declare that God could be just in justifying him that believeth in Jesus; but to declare just, and to make just, are very different ideas. Where is it said, that Jesus bore the infinite wrath of God? Where is it said, that he was the surety of man?"¹ He states that according to "the learned patristical investigator, Murdock," the doctrine of "satisfaction" was due to the plodding genius of Anselm of Laon, and up to the twelfth century was not a subject of christian difference.²

The plan of redemption originated with God. His love to the world moved him to send his Son to be their Saviour. The great Ambassador from heaven came to this rebel world to reconcile it to God. The death or blood of Christ may be called the atonement or reconciliation, because it is the means by which reconciliation to God is effected by faith in his blood. Through the gospel we learn of the death of Christ. Hence it is called the ministry and work of reconciliation. "Reconciliation is the end to be effected and the blood of Christ is the means by which it is to be effected."³

He attempts to show how the death of Christ produces this reconciliation. Jesus teaches us the method of pardon. 'If thy brother repent forgive him, even till seventy times seven.' We are everywhere taught to forgive those who ask. Prof. Mackintosh has said that "an instinct which cannot err has raised /

1. Christian Messenger ii, p. 203.

2. Christian Messenger v, p. 161; ii, p. 34.

While it was true that the first formal attempt to philosophise the whole subject was found in the "Cur Deus Homo" of St. Anselm, the doctrine is found, at least in germ, in the writings of St. Paul and in the earlier Fathers. Setting forth his theory of the ransom paid to the Devil, which theory was to be traditionally orthodox for a thousand years was attempting to explain why a God of love cannot forgive sin without the death of his son.

3. Christian Messenger, ii, p. 182.

raised the protest that man cannot be better than God."¹ So Stone concludes of God: "He is the king - the debtors are the world of sinners - the penitent are forgiven, frankly forgiven without the payment of the debt by himself or any surety."² But God only forgives through repentance. "What produces that repentance with which pardon is always connected? We answer in the language of inspiration, 'The goodness of God leadeth to repentance.' If we are asked, 'Where is the goodness of God seen?' We answer; In Christ Jesus; for in the gift, the life, the death, the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, the goodness, grace and love of God to the world, are seen in the brightest colours."³ Had Jesus not been sent "to rescue us from our enemies - had he not died and risen again, we must have perished and sunk down into everlasting punishment without hope. The belief of this brings us to confess our sins with a broken heart; and God graciously forgives!"⁴ - "'I,' said Jesus, 'if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me.' .. The sinner that believes in Jesus, and looks to him on the cross, will be propitiated unto God ... For in his blood we see the love, grace and compassion of God to us displayed, which propitiates or appeases our souls to him. By faith in the cross of Jesus, the sinner is reconciled to God."⁵ He quotes as his own sentiments those of Dr McGee, a recognised scholar of that day: "The sacrifice of Christ was never deemed by any, who did not wish to calumniate the doctrine of atonement, to have made God placable, but merely viewed as a means appointed by infinite wisdom, by which to bestow forgiveness."⁶

"Hence /

1. Forgiveness of Sins, ^{London, 1927,} p. 30.
2. Christian Messenger ii, p. 118.
3. Christian Messenger ii, p. 118.
4. Christian Messenger ii, p. 185.
5. Stone, Letters on Atonement, p. 26.
6. Christian Messenger ii, p. 185.

"Hence we have the doctrine, 'without shedding of blood is no remission' - that Christ's blood was shed for the remission of sins - How? Because the blood of Christ leads to repentance; and remission of sins follows repentance..... Then the reason why God forgives the sinner is because he repents; and the reason he repents, is, because he believes in Christ that died, was buried, and rose again. In this the love, grace and goodness of God are manifested, and the goodness of God leads the sinner to repentance. To keep in view the foundation of repentance and forgiveness, that is, the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus, the Lord instituted baptism by immersion in connection with faith and repentance, as a means of the remission of sins, and of salvation."¹

In the Christian Messenger for August, 1833, Barton Stone summarises his views on Atonement, which in the history of theories, would be classed as "subjective" rather than "objective" - as Abelardian rather than Anselmic. He states: "There are a few gospel facts, which I consider as axioms. I have therefore doubted the truth of every doctrine, which stands in opposition to these.

"1st. That God loved the world, and therefore inclined to save them.

"2. That all his perfections harmonised in the plan and work of saving them.

"3. That all his perfections harmonised, and were united with love, in giving his Son to execute the plan and work of saving sinners.

"4. That the plan was, that the Son of God should be made flesh - that he should live, die, be buried and rise again and ascend /

1. Christian Messenger iii, p. 222.

ascend to heaven - and come the second time without sin unto salvation to those who look for him.

"5. That this plan is an exhibition of love, and of all other divine perfections.

"6. On this plan God proposes to the world pardon, salvation, reconciliation - sanctification, immortality and eternal life, on the condition that they believe in his Son, and obey him. That is, that they believe that he died for our sins according to the scriptures - that he was buried and rose again from the dead according to the scriptures - By this faith the Corinthians were saved. But they also obeyed, - For they heard, believed and were baptised.

"7. That faith in Jesus, that lived, died and rose again, produces a moral influence or effect on the mind, to reconcile us to God - to lead us to repentance and consequently to remission of sin. If the blood of Christ had any effect on God, or on his government in the pardon of our sins, I know it not, and as Bp. McGee says, I am not concerned to know. Because, if God has not revealed it, he saw it unnecessary for us to know it - Our great wisdom is to profit by the things revealed. - Every dissertation on these unrevealed things, I cannot but consider as vain speculations, calculated to gender strife, and division; from which may God deliver us!"¹

4. A Change on Baptism.

While this controversy concerning the Atonement was in full progress, the "Christians" were changing their views on baptism. While yet a Presbyterian minister, Barton Stone had become /

1. Christian Messenger vii, pp. 229, 230.

become interested in the subject of baptism by immersion. Robert Marshall had been disturbed concerning the validity of sprinkling, and it was feared by his brother ministers that he would join the Baptist Church.¹ To prevent this, Stone had written him a long letter, hoping to convince him of the error of his new opinions. In reply, Marshall argued so convincingly for believer's baptism, that Barton Stone was convinced that his position was correct. The Revival excitement, and the controversy concerning faith which resulted in the Secession of 1803, so occupied time and attention that the subject of immersion as baptism was forgotten, or at least crowded out of mind. However, along about 1806 or 1807, during the first days of the "Christians" as an independent group, the subject again came up for discussion.² After prayerful consultation, it was decided that each member should act in accordance with what he thought to be right; and that, in the spirit of forbearance, they would not discriminate between those who were immersed and those who were not. Although none of their ministers had been immersed, they concluded that if they were authorised to preach, they must be authorised to baptise. Accordingly they immersed each other, and many of the people; and it was not long until the congregations were composed almost entirely of immersed believers. It is interesting to note that although Robert Marshall had been the first to be convinced of the correctness of immersion as the only baptism, he himself was not immersed. In fact, Barton Stone was the only one of the five Seceding ministers who was baptised.³

5. /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 60.
2. Compare Stone, Christian Messenger vii, p. 4.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger vi, p. 136.

5. The Loss of Marshall and Thompson.

Hardly had the shock of the Shaker inroads been forgotten, and the churches assumed their former prosperous and growing condition, until another cloud appeared on the horizon. Certain of their number began to express dissatisfaction with the lack of organisation among the churches. Stone tells us that Robert Marshall and John Thompson "began to speak privately that the Bible was too latitudinarian for a creed - that there was a necessity, at this time, to embody a few fundamental truths, and to make a permanent and final stand on them."¹ Barton Stone, in a letter written to Robert Marshall, expressed his disapproval of some of the prevailing conditions among the people. He says: "I see the Christian Church wrong in many things - they are not careful to support preachers - they encourage too many trifling preachers - are led away too much by noise, etc."² It must be remembered that although Stone and some of the leaders were thoroughly imbued with the idea that the Spirit worked regeneration only through the Word, the majority of the people still carried with them their life long religious views - that, as an evidence of pardon, they should look for some particular sign from the Lord³; and they carried over from the revival days, the Methodist custom of the "mourner's bench."⁴ Although they had renounced all authority apart from the Bible and the government of the local congregation, /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 65.

2. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 210.

3. Samuel Rogers, p. 22.

4. Samuel Rogers, p. 20.

Some years later, Barton Stone, writing in answer to an article of criticism against the "Christians," objects to his statement that "They have about them a kind of noise or fuss, which they call religion, imitating the Methodists." Stone thus justifies his people in this matter: "For a number of years back we have neither heard, nor seen anything like this among the Christians. When we were in the Presbyterian church, and for some years after, it is true, we saw and heard a great deal of what was called by many, "noise and fuss /

congregation, they held Conferences of the ministers and private members promiscuously assembled. These meetings were only for the purpose of general discussions and recommendations to the churches; when the conference was over, each one continued to act as he wished, regardless of the decision of the meeting of the brethren.

Consequently at a Conference held at Bethel, which was not far from Lexington, it was proposed that the preachers should come to some formal agreement, so that they might be responsible to each other, and work in unison regarding the trials of ministers, and matters of discipline in the churches. After considerable discussion, a plan of union was agreed on, and signed by the most of the ministers present, in the order of their standing in the church - whether ranking as ordained ministers, licentiates or exhorters.¹ Robert Marshall gives the following summary of the plan: "At a general meeting of ministers of the christian church at Bethel, in the state of Kentucky, August 8th, 1810, the brethren taking into consideration their scattered local situation, their increasing numbers, and the difficulties arising in executing the duties of their office, agreed to unite themselves together formally, taking the word of God as their only rule and standard for doctrine, discipline, and government; and promising subjection to each other in the Lord, have hereunto subscribed their names, according to their present standing in said connection."² When this idea was once started, the people began to send questions to the committee of arrangements, regarding church government and points of doctrine. There seemed to be a great variety of opinion, /

fuss," but these things have passed away from us, and are by no means characteristic of our religion." (Stone, Christian Messenger, viii, p. 74.

1. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i, p. 224.

2. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i, p. 224. The facts for this article were furnished by Robert Marshall.

opinion, both among the ministers and the people. The doctrine of the Atonement, which had been so much discussed throughout the country, since the publication of Stone's "Letters," was uppermost in the minds of some of the ministers, particularly Robert Marshall, John Thompson and H. Andrews. They insisted that considerable time be spent in theological discussions, that they might know in how far they agreed, and wherein they differed. Robert Marshall says of this: "The time we had allowed ourselves to be together, rendered it impracticable, either to discuss the subjects of the queries, or to converse on doctrines, that we might know each other's minds. We therefore proceeded, that a Committee should be appointed to write a piece for publication, on those subjects, particularly on the points of doctrine, respecting which there was so much noise throughout the country; hoping, that by giving our present and matured views on doctrine and church government, we might be able to remove from the public mind those strong prepossessions which existed against us, and so obtain some degree of communion with brethren, and churches of other denominations; a thing for which we had ardently longed. Particular mention was made of the Last Will and Testament, and that the proposed publication should give a history how it came into existence - how we had been imposed upon when we signed it; and then explicitly renounce it."¹ The committee - consisting of R. Marshall, B.W. Stone, J. Thompson, D. Purviance and H. Andrews - was ordered to make their report to a general meeting of ministers which was to assemble at Mount Tabor, near Lexington, on the second Monday of March, 1811. It is evident that Marshall and Thompson were very anxious that the body draw up some /

1. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i, p. 224.

some formal statement of their beliefs, and that they take a definite stand against the theory of the Atonement, as published by Barton Stone. In September, 1810, the committee, with the exception of Stone, met in Ohio, and decided that each prepare a paper in which he should set forth his doctrinal views, particularly on the Atonement; and that they meet on December the twenty-sixth, following, for a discussion of these papers, and a further agreement as to what they would report to Conference. The day of the appointed meeting arrived. David Purviance, then a member of the Ohio Legislature, was absent on his political duties. Barton Stone reported that he had written nothing. The other members of the committee were of the "orthodox" opinion on the subject of the Atonement. At Stone's request he was allowed to take with him the paper written by 'one of them', that he might weigh their arguments before the next meeting of Conference. When the ministers met to formulate their report, there was found to be a disagreement, particularly on the Atonement. Stone and Purviance stood for the theory as published in the "Letters;" Marshall, Thompson and Andrews were on the other side of the question. Although no decision had been reached, each member of the committee was asked to read his views on the Subject.. Some insisted that there be a general discussion of the Atonement, but it was declared unwise to start controversies and thus risk breaking the spirit of good fellowship among the people. Barton Stone wrote of this meeting; "Marshall, Thompson, and Andrews laboured hard to bring us back to the ground from which we had departed, and to form a system of doctrines from which we should not /

not recede.¹ The scheme was almost universally opposed by a large conference of preachers and people."² After considerable discussion, it was finally decided to publish nothing, not even a circular letter to the churches. The general voice of the people, was, "that they could easily bear with each other, and go on in love and union, notwithstanding the difference in doctrine."³ This attempted formulation of a creed, chilled the enthusiasm of the ministers for their proposed plan of union, lest it grow to be a "yoke of bondage." Thus they continued in their former ~~un~~organized way; and as Robert Marshall protested, were "connected together by no tie, but a general profession of faith in the Bible, and of Christian love, which we professed to feel as strong for christians of every denomination as for one another."⁴

Just how much the Presbyterian leaders knew of this internal situation among the "Christians," we do not know, but a letter written by John Poage Campbell to his friend, the Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, and dated March 14th, 1811 - not more than a week⁵ after this action by the Conference - states that he can and should talk freely on the subject with John Thompson. The following extracts from this ^{formerly} unpublished, but original hand-written letter, gives a most intimate picture of the light in which the /

1. See Stone, Christian Messenger vol. vi. p. 199.
In 1833, Barton Stone wrote: "When Marshall, Thompson and others endeavoured to introduce another creed besides the scriptures, and had persuaded many of the propriety, I with R. Dooley, Kincade, and many others stood up and boldly protested against it.
(Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vii. p. 4)
2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 66.
3. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i. p. 227.
4. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i. p. 227.
5. The Conference at Mount Tabor was held on the second Monday of March, 1811. (Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i. p. 224).

the Presbyterian Church regarded these developments. Campbell writes: "There is a subject in which I feel a serious and indeed a very tender interest and to which I wish I could in person call your attention. That being impossible, I will barely take the liberty to touch it slightly in the close of this letter. You are sufficiently apprized of the standing of some of our former Brethren. Their return to sound principles and the necessity of order subjects them to the persecution of some and the jealousy of others in their own party. To see them organize on proper ground and form a new society would certainly be pleasing to every friend of truth and order. But who does not lament the accumulation of names in the Christian Church? I confess to you I would rather see them return to our church. - In all this I know we do not differ - But how shall they return? This is the question on which I would wish to have a tete-a-tete with you. As I am unacquainted with your opinion as to the manner of such return I will take the liberty of requesting you to give it as early as convenient. I have no wish to dictate to you on a subject of so much importance but as you live near to a considerable branch of the ex-presbyterians, allow me to suggest that it will be your duty to mingle with them as much as possible, and use the influence you may possess with them to bring them over to sentiments favourable to the cause you serve. While I wish you to yield nothing really important either in doctrine or discipline, I would recommend the opposite of rigour. With respect to those of them who were once our brother preachers, we have gone as I think, the proper length - our sentence rests upon them while destitute of penitence but when we see them repentant and willing to return we should be as ready to remove /

remove that sentence as we were to inflict it. There is no necessity, as I conceive, for making rigorous humiliating demands - Let us not break the bruised reed nor push penitence too low. Like the Father in the parable let us meet the prodigal a great way off and fall on his neck. These men have gone astray when they thought they were serving with great effect the cause of religion. Their plan has failed and they are convinced of its errors. If they return saying "we repent" let us forgive and restore them to their former place. To remove the sentence of deposition is all that is required for their reinstatements.P.S. Allow me to be a little troublesome on the subject just stated. The state of things in the New Light society will soon be very much disturbed. The minds of the people will be strongly agitated. Much will be in your power and I hope you will not fail to do all you can. Go among them - converse freely and tenderly - Preach and exhort ardently - Remember that their prejudices against truth have been, as they will still be, industriously excited, and that their resentment or antipathy to Presbyterianism has been laboriously promoted. Their habit is sickly (to say the best of it) and will not bear meat - Give them the sincere milk of the word. - To Mr Thompson you may and ought to talk freely - He will let you see the real state of things in that connection. But all this is inter nos. Keep it close.

J.P.C."¹

We do not know what happened during the next few months; but on October 12th, 1811, Robert Marshall and John Thompson appeared before the Synod of Kentucky, and having acknowledged "both privately and publicly" their mistakes, and having been examined /.

examined on the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, were again received into the full communion of the Presbyterian church.¹ They unhesitatingly gave the orthodox answers during their examination on the doctrines of the Trinity, Decrees, Agency of the Spirit in Regeneration, Freedom of the Will, Faith in Jesus Christ, Atonement and Baptism. Barton Stone says that these two men, from that time, became the most zealous opposers of the "Christians." Marshall was required by his Presbytery to visit all of the churches where he had formerly preached, renounce his errors publicly, and preach to them the "pure doctrine." Davidson tells us that "he afterwards used to say that he could not ascribe his conduct to any other cause than a strange infatuation; and for years never mounted the pulpit without lamenting his errors, and warning the people against similar delusions."²

The loss of these two leaders was a heavy blow to the "Christians." Of the five ministers who seceded from the Synod of Kentucky, in October , 1803, Barton Stone only was left. However, not many of the people followed these men in their return to Presbyterianism. John Poage Campbell, writing in 1813, and speaking of the situation during the previous ten years, states: "of the vast multitude who were seduced, and stopped in their progress heaven-ward, perhaps not one-sixth have been recovered."³ This much we believe is certain, /

1. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 211; Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i, p. 228. f
2. Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 107. e
3. Joshua Lacy Wilson, D.D. in an article in the "Standard" a presbyterian periodical printed in Cincinnati, in the first number of a series of articles entitled "Past and Present" under the date Sept. 16, 1831 writes of the Schisms that resulted from the Revival thirty years before: "In the lapse of time, when the storm was hushed and the line drawn, and the standard floated in the mild zephyrs of Heaven, I saw a few, and only a very few of the deceivers and deceived, returning again to the arms of the church, with recantation and tears." (Stone, Christian Messenger vi, p. 136 - May 1832.) r

certain, Mr Thompson's congregation excepted, not one of the many congregations which were shattered by the convulsion, have anything like recovered their former strength."¹

6. The Trinitarian Controversy.

Out of the brief controversy^{on the Atonement,} between Barton Stone and John Poage Campbell, grew another which was kept alive for years, and which, in spite of numerous explanations on the part of Stone, branded him with a heresy which was never quite removed. During the period of close friendship that existed between these two men while both were Presbyterian ministers, Stone had mentioned his difficulties concerning the creedal statement regarding the Trinity. It will be remembered that his doubts had begun, 12 years before, when at the early age of twenty-one, and as a candidate for licensure by the Orange Presbytery, he was required to submit for trial, papers on the subjects of the "Being and Attributes of God" and the "Trinity." He had found Witsius quite unintelligible, and had turned for a clearer explanation of the subject to Watts, who taught the pre-existence of the soul of Christ.² Five years later (1798), when he accepted the united call of the Presbyterian congregations of Caneridge and Concord, and became a candidate for ordination by the Transylvania Presbytery, his perplexities had increased. With his characteristic intellectual honesty, he felt reluctant to admit, as his faith, the statement of the Creed on the subject of Trinity. He later wrote of this period: "Sometimes I was inclined to think the three persons meant three distinct and intelligent persons or beings in one God. This I thought was little different from Tritheism. Sometimes my mind inclined /

1. Campbell, Evangelical Record, vol. i, p. 230.

2. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 33.

inclined to consider three persons as three distinctions, appellations or relations, in the one God.¹ He had explained his difficulties to Robert Marshall and James Blythe, who, when they could not satisfy his conscience on the matter of subscription, had decided that it would be quite sufficient if the creed was accepted in so far as it was "consistent with the word of God." His public acceptance on the day of his ordination (Oct. 4, 1798) was with this reservation, as was later certified by a number of men of high standing in religious society.² However, he had never made his doubts generally known, for he believed that such discussions would only mystify the people. In his Autobiography, he tells of the origin of this controversy: "One thing I have since regretted, that the Doctor accused me in his pamphlets of being heterodox on the Trinity. My views I had never committed to paper, and for years had been silent on that subject in my public addresses. We had been very intimate, and I had disclosed my views to him as a brother; not suspecting that I should be dragged before the public as I was. I forgive him. But his disclosure was before the world, and induced me to defend myself, and the doctrine I believed." This he did in his Addresses and in a series of Letters to Thomas Cleland, John Moreland and James Blythe.³

The very suggestion of a disagreement on the Trinity recalls the ghosts of severely contested theological battles - memories of a christian world divided into warring camps over a dipthong - , f
visions of opposing parties officially declared orthodox or e
anathema because they accepted or rejected one word in a creed.
So /

1. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 33.
2. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, pp. 33, 158; Cleland, Letters to Barton Stone, p. 161.
3. (For a complete list of the controversial pamphlets, see the Bibliography).

So narrow is the path of orthodoxy, that a step to one side or the other hurls you into Sabellianism or Tri-theism. For the Jewish people, upon whose minds, for century after century, "had been, as it were, burnt and branded," the essential unity of God,¹ the simple confession of Peter, "Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God," was sufficient; but when christianity was presented to the Gentiles, with their religious background of Gods and mediating Gods, and when the teachings of Christ and the apostles became interwoven with hellenistic philosophy, the Church felt it imperative to define the faith in clearly worked out formulas and terminology. Accordingly, in 325, the Council of Nicea, in its determination to eliminate the Arian teaching of Christ as a demi-god, drew up the creed² which has ever remained the standard of orthodoxy. Prof. Curtis has remarked that "many Christian leaders who had little sympathy with Arius deprecated with good reason the thrusting of unscriptural phraseology into the sacred clauses of the Apostolic Faith, which were to be binding upon the universal Christian conscience."³

Barton Stone had taken his stand against human authoritative creeds. He believed and taught that the "doctrines of the Bible have never divided christians; but human opinions of those doctrines, /

1. Moberly, Atonement and Personality, p. 85.
2. Creed of Nicea, A.D. 325: "We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, entered humanity and suffered, and rose the third day, ascended into heaven, is coming to judge the living and the dead; And in the Holy Spirit. But as for those who say there was a time when He was not, and that before he was begotten He was not, and that he came into being from things that were not, or who affirm that the Son of God is of a different subsistence or essence, or created, subject to change or alteration, them the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes." (Copied from Curtis, Creeds and Confessions, p. 70.)
3. Curtis, History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith, p. 67.)

doctrines, without charity, have always done the mischief. Man, poor, ignorant man, would dictate to the consciences of his fellows; and if they do not receive his dogmas or opinions, they are branded with the odious names of heretic, infidel, etc. and their name and sentiments are trumpeted abroad, misrepresented and blackened."¹ He paid deference to the judgment of great and pious men of the past and present, but knowing that they have differed on these subjects, he preferred to draw his sentiments from the Bible, and express them in scriptural phraseology.

Stone rejected the Trinitarian terminology as unscriptural. He urged against Dr Blythe: "Had you said, 'The Word was made flesh,' instead of saying the second person of the adorable Trinity became incarnate, all christians of every name would receive it. But in your dress of this doctrine, you make it unintelligible, self-contradictory, and opposed to your own creed and sentiments... Where, sir, in the book of God, is this doctrine of a first and second person of trinity taught? Is the Son any where in the Bible called the second person of trinity, or the Father the first?"² When asked if he denied the Trinity, he replied that he denied it to be a scriptural term, and that he denied the vain speculations of man concerning it; but that he did not deny "the one God, the Father; nor the one Lord Jesus, the Son of the Father; nor the one Holy Spirit of God."³

His difficulties with, and objections to, the doctrine, are quite clearly set forth in one of his articles on the subject. He writes: "I do with my whole heart reject that system of trinity, received and advocated by many, who affirm that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are not proper persons, but that they /

1. Stone, 1814 Address, p. 6.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger iii, p. 271.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger iv, p. 218.

they are three modes, relations, or distinctions, in which the one God exists. That is, the Father is not a proper person, or intelligent being, but he is a mode - a relation - or a distinction in deity. The Son is not an intelligent being or proper person, but is also another mode, relation or distinction in deity, etc. I yet think that such a doctrine is not only foreign from revelation, but it destroys the very foundations of the righteous.....I also reject as unworthy of notice that system of Trinity, which affirms that the Father, Son and Spirit are three distinct beings, and together compose the one infinite Being, God; as the three judges of our supreme court compose one court - they are three distinct men but one court..... I am obliged, with the Bible in my hand, also to reject the commonly received, and orthodox notion of trinity, as that there are three persons in one God, and one God in three persons. This proposition I cannot receive without attaching some idea to it. If it contains no idea it must certainly be an unprofitable doctrine..... That there is one God, is plain from the law and the gospel - so plain that all christians profess to receive it. But that there are in this one God three distinct persons, co-equal, co-eternal, and co-essential, is a doctrine not so plain; because it is nowhere taught in the law nor in the gospel. I have diligently enquired into the definition of a person. Your doctors have not yet determined its signification. Their notions are as various as their faces; one affirming one thing, and another a different and opposite thing. The term person must be taken in its proper sense as an intelligent being, or in its improper sense as an unintelligent being. If we take it in its proper sense, then three such persons must be three intelligent beings. To say then that the Father /

Father, Son and Spirit are three proper persons, is the same to say that they are three intelligent beings, spirits or minds; and if each be equal, we have three equal, eternal, infinite, and self-existent Gods. This is certainly the doctrine of tritheism, or polytheism revived, and stands in direct opposition to the revelation of one God."¹ "Therefore they must understand the term 'persons' in Godhead, not in the proper sense of the word 'person,' but in such a qualified sense as to exclude the notion of three distinct spirits or beings. They who maintain that the one God is revealed to us in the three relations of Father, Word and Holy Ghost, do not deny three distinctions in Godhead. I am strongly inclined to think that the controversy is a war of words, while the combatants believe the same thing. They who say these three are three persons, understanding the term person in such a sense as to exclude the notion of three Gods, just mean what I understand by the three distinctions in Godhead... I believe there are three distinctions in Godhead; but I cannot express them in more appropriate terms than those used by the inspired Apostle - Father, Word and Holy Ghost."²

He further contends: "Is not the Creed, called improperly the Apostles' creed, much better than those more properly called orthodox? That simply states, 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is - and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried - rose again the third day from the dead, ascended into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God, from whence he will return to judge the quick and the dead - I believe in the /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger ii, pp. 244-246.

2. Stone, An Address to Christian Churches, 1814, p. 9.

the Holy Ghost," etc. Here are simple facts stated in which all christians are agreed. Here is no speculation, no mystery - all is plain. But the real apostolic creed I prefer. In opposition to the polytheism of the nations around, who had Lords many and Gods many, the apostle contrasts the christians' creed. 'But with us, there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him - and one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things and we by him.' Here every thing is plain - here is nothing to astound the human intellect - here is no mystery to involve us in everlasting doubt and uncertainty."¹

We shall attempt to set forth as briefly as is possible with a clear understanding, and in his own words, Barton Stone's personal faith concerning the relation of God the Father, and Christ, the Son. "That there is but one living and true God, is a plain doctrine of revelation.....This doctrine is also contained in the creeds of every sect of christians, with which I am acquainted.....If then all agree that there is but one only living and true God, all must agree that there are not two or three such Gods. If all agree that this one only God is an infinite spirit without parts, all must agree that this infinite spirit is not a compound of two or three spirits, beings or Gods."²

"The doctrine that Jesus Christ is the Son of the living God, and not the living God himself - that he existed a distinct intelligent being from the Father in heaven before creation, and by whom God created all things - that this being was sent into the world by the Father, not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him - that he was made flesh and dwelt among us - that he suffered, died and ascended up where he was before - This doctrine we cannot but believe, and do verily think that all /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger ii, p. 247.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger ii, p. 247.

all the combined ingenuity and power of men will fail to destroy it. It stands invulnerable by their feeble shafts, and will stand or fall with the Bible. This doctrine established destroys the doctrine of orthodox trinity.... The zeal manifested in defence of trinity is hurrying its advocates into the awful doctrine of Antichrist, which denies the Father and the Son. For if they be but one essence or being, the Father and Son are but two names or relations of one Being, spirit or mind; and if this be not the doctrine of Antichrist, it approximates so nigh that our feeble powers can never discriminate between them. We should be glad to know whether there is any difference between your views of trinity, and the pagan mythology of Diana. She had three names and but one being. In her various names she is represented as performing or executing different offices."¹ — "We contend with the Fathers of the first centuries, that the Son is of the same nature of the Father, as being his own Son; but we deny the doctrine of modern trinitarians, who affirm that the Son is the same essence, or nature, with the Father, or the same individual being with the Father. This we consider as absurd and anti-scriptural."² — "But you say, we deny the divinity of the Son of God, because we do not believe he was himself, the only true God. As well might you say that we denied the humanity of Abel, the son of Adam, because we do not believe that Abel himself was Adam. That Jesus Christ was the Son of God, that he existed with the Father before creation, and was the agent by whom God made the world, and without whom was nothing made that was made, is a doctrine we firmly believe - that he was sent by the Father to be the Saviour of the world - that the Father prepared a body for him - that he took flesh and /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger ii, p. 248.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger iii, p. 60.

and blood, or was made flesh - that he lived, died, and ascended to the Father, and received the glory which he had with the Father, before the world was - this we most assuredly believe. But how and when he became the Son of God before creation, we are not informed. We simply believe the fact that he was God's own Son, his only begotten Son: That he proceeded and came forth from the Father; hence we have concluded that he was divine."¹

Barton Stone believed with some of the early Fathers, particularly Tertullian,² that the Logos was eternally existent in God, but that some time before the formation of the worlds, he was generated or begotten by God as the Son, "and was an assistant in creation, and that God made all things by him."³ 'God in these last days hath spoken to us by His Son, by whom also he made the worlds.' Cor. 8:6. 'But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we in him.'..... 'What if ye shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before?' But we are informed that he ascended up to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God.⁴ "That the humanity of Jesus consisted of a reasonable soul and true body, but few, if any, deny..... That part of his humanity, which I have called his body, began to exist....when born of the Virgin Mary. That part of his humanity which I have called his soul, did not begin to exist when the body did, but existed before all / worlds in the bosom of the Father, and was united with the body prepared for it. - In this sentiment we differ from the common faith, which is that the soul of Jesus never existed till the body /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger iii, p. 275.

2. Mackintosh, Person of Christ, 154-158; Harnack, History of Dogma ii, pp. 256-261.

3. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 37.

4. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 49.

body did, that is, till conceived and born of the Virgin Mary."¹

To Moreland, he further explained: "We both profess to believe that there is a Father and a Son; and that they existed before the world was. But we differ in this; I believe that the Father and Son are two distinct, intelligent beings of one spirit - so distinct, that the Father begate, and the Son was begotten - the Father sent, and the Son was sent, etc. You deny that the Son, who existed before the world, was a real intelligent being, distinct from the Father, but was himself the very God - the very Father; for the very or true God is the Father as just proved. Now, sir, can the same intelligent being be both the Father and the Son of himself? Can the same one being both beget and be begotten by himself? Can the same one being send and be sent by himself? Can the same one being say, 'I came down from Heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me?' Can the same one intelligent being, be in the form of himself, and equal to himself? Can the same one intelligent being pray to himself,² 'Glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory I had with thee before the world was?' You may say, it was the humanity that prayed thus. But did the humanity exist before the world was? and was it then in possession of glory with the Father? I am confident that every man, not blinded by a human system, will say that these things cannot /

1. Stone, 1814 Address, p. 14.

2. Compare with this, the arguments of Tertullian, as he writes against Praxeas: "The Son offers his request from earth, the Father gives his promise from heaven. Why, then do you make liars of both the Father and the Son? If either the Father spake from heaven to the Son when He himself was the Son on earth, or the Son prayed to the Father when he himself was the Father in heaven, how happens it that the Son made a request of His own very self, by asking it of the Father, since the Son was the Father? Or, on the other hand, how is it that the Father made a promise to himself, by making it to the Son, since the Father was the Son? Were we ever to maintain that they are two separate Gods, as you are so fond of throwing out against us, it would be a more tolerable assertion than the maintainance of so versatile and changeable a God as yours!"

(The Writings of Tertullian, Vol. ii, p. 386.)

cannot apply to the same one intelligent being - you, yourself, sir, cannot believe it. They must apply to two distinct intelligent beings - not to two distinct, intelligent and equal beings or Gods; for we both acknowledge but one such God, who is the Father. The Son, therefore, cannot be an eternal intelligent being, distinct from the Father."¹

Again with Tertullian, Stone places a strong emphasis on the subordination of the Son to the Father. He reasons further: "These two distinct Beings, the Father and the Son, are not two self-existent, independent, eternal Beings, or Supreme Gods..... but two distinct intelligent beings as distinct as Abraham the Father, and Isaac the Son; and when we speak of Isaac the Son, we do not mean Abraham the Father."².... "The very idea of a son, excludes the idea of self-existence and independence. Therefore said the Son, 'I live by the Father - I can of my own self do nothing.' - The Son was not essentially equal to the Father. Because equality implies plurality, and one cannot be equal to itself. A plurality of equal Gods, I reject, and boldly say with Paul, 'with us there is but one God.'.... The Son or Logos was in the fulness of time, made flesh, or was united with a body, prepared for him by God the Father - he was the only soul of that body, and was born of the Virgin Mary, lived, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven, where he had been before he did descend.... If the Son or Logos was the supreme God, then it would follow that the supreme God was born of a woman - grew in wisdom and in favour with God and man - was anointed with the Holy Ghost, and with power - suffered - died, and rose from the dead. These things I considered too awful to be admitted."³

He /

1. Stone, Letter to Moreland, p. 6.
2. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, pp. 48, 49.
3. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, pp. 49, 50.

He avowed his belief in the divinity of Christ, in the fullest sense, and produced numerous proof texts from the Bible. "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Col. 2:9. "Philip said unto him, Lord shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus answered and said unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hath thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father, and how sayeth thou, Shew us the Father? Believeth thou not that I am the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works." John 14:8-10. "If ye had known me ye should have known my Father also; and from henceforth ye know him and have seen him." John 10:38. "God was manifest in the flesh." 1 Tim. 3:16. In Christ dwelt "not a part, but all the fulness of Godhead or divinity, bodily."¹

Stone believed that Jesus is "truly and properly the Son of God," in a sense in which no other being has ever been; "because he is called God's own son - his only son - his only begotten son." While he probably would have rejected as authoritative, the Nicene terminology, "of one substance with the Father," lest it be interpreted in the Sabellian sense, he held the same idea that the framers of the creed wished to express² /

1. Stone, 1814 Address, p. 12.

2. Athanasius explains why it was necessary to adopt the phraseology which we find in the Nicene creed. He wrote: "The Council wishing to negative the irreligious phrases of the Arians, and to use instead the acknowledged words of the Scriptures, that the Son is not from nothing but from God, and is Word and Wisdom, nor creature or work, but the proper offspring from the Father, the party of Eusebius, out of their inveterate heterodoxy, understood the phrase "from God" as belonging to us, as if in respect to it the Word of God differed nothing from us, and that, because it is written, 'There is one God, from whom are all things'; and again, 'Old things are passed away, behold, all things are new, and all things are from God.' But the Fathers, perceiving their craft and the cunning of their irreligion, were forced to express more distinctly the sense of the words 'from God.' Accordingly they wrote 'from the substance of God,' in order that 'from God' might not be considered common and equal in the Son and all things generate, but that all others might be acknowledged as /

express by that phrase. Of Jesus, he wrote: "How he derived his existence from the Father, we cannot tell - But we constantly affirm it was not by creation, for creation is a production of something out of nothing; but the Son was begotten and brought forth by the Father. We conceive a very great difference between the acts of begetting and creating."¹ Adam begat a son in his own likeness, but Adam did not create a son. Adam's son was of the same nature as himself, but not the same individual nature, or being, with himself. If Jesus was a creature, we cannot see why he is called God's only begotten Son - his only Son - his own Son, seeing God had myriads of sons created both in heaven and on earth. Etc."² To further clarify his meaning, he sets forth three distinct ideas that might be attached to the term "son": 1st, A son by creation, as was Adam and the angels; 2nd, A son by adoption, as we are sons of God; and 3rd, A son by derivation, as Seth was from his father Adam. "This last idea /

as creatures, and the Word alone as from the Father. For though all things be said to be from God, yet this is not in the sense, in which the Son is from Him; for as to the creatures, 'of God' is said of them on this account, in that they exist not at random or spontaneously, nor come to be by chance, according to those philosophers who refer them to the combination of atoms, and to elements of similar structure....but in that, whereas God is, it was by Him that all things were brought into being, not being before, through his Word, but as to the Word, since He is not a creature, He alone is both called and is 'from the Father'; and it is significant of this sense to say that the Son is 'from the substance of the Father,' for to no creature does this attach."

(Select Treatises of S. Athanasius against the Arians, Eng. Trans., pp. 32-33 - Oxford, 1880)

1. Stone did not, in the beginning of the controversy, always so clearly distinguish, and sometimes used "to create" in the sense of "to beget." (See, Address, p. 13). When he found that this could be misunderstood, he was more careful to sharply define his position. We find, in the history of Athanasius, this same growth in clearness of expression. "After the beginning of the Arian controversy, though not before it (see c. Gent. 2), Athanasius made a thorough distinction between 'to beget' and 'to create.' 'Begetting held good of the Father only in reference to the Son.' (Harnack, History of Dogma, Foot-note, p. 32, Vol. IV., English Translation - Oxford, 1898).
2. Stone, Christian Messenger iii, p. 61.

idea is the highest and most proper sense of the term. - Suppose I have in my family a number of children, and should say to my friend, all these are my children; but this one is my own son - my only son - my only begotten. Would not my friend conclude that this one was a son in a sense different from the others - and that the others were sons by adoption? This one has obtained his name by inheritance, as Paul declares Jesus did. By his son, God created all things - This son was united with a body prepared for him. In him the Father dwelt - the whole fulness of Godhead bodily. Hence he bears the names, titles and attributes of Jehovah - Hence divine works and worship are ascribed to him. If the prophets, with a small measure of this fulness or spirit, could penetrate through thousands of future years, and describe minutely distant events; cannot Jesus with the whole fulness, and the spirit without measure, penetrate through nature, or be omniscient? If Samson, with a small measure of this fulness was supernaturally strong - what bounds can be put to the power of Jesus, in whom dwelt all the fulness of Godhead? He must be omnipotent. So of every perfection."¹

Barton Stone indignantly denied the charge of Arianism made against him by the orthodox party. He declared that the dispute between Arius and his party, and their opposers, "had no respect to the number of persons in the deity; but simply to the derived nature of the Son of God."² Arius maintained that the Son was not begotten of the Father, i.e. produced of his substance, but created out of nothing. On the contrary the Council of Nice affirmed that the Son was peculiarly of the Father, /

1. Stone, Letter to Moreland, 7, 8.

2. In a Footnote comment on the doctrine of Bishop Alexander, we find a similar clear cut declaration: "From this it is plainly evident that the real point in dispute was not as to subordination and coordination, but as to unity of substance and difference of substance. That the archetype is greater than the type is for Alexander a truth that is beyond doubt."
(Harnack, History of Dogma, Vol. iv, p. 23.)

Father, being of his substance, as being begotten of him. The Creed of that Council contains no idea of a three-one God. The one God is clearly represented as one person only, and the Son is derived from God. It was by adding to the Nicene Creed that the Council of Constantinople made out the doctrine of a three one God. Doctor Mosheim says, they gave the finishing touch to what the Council of Nice had left imperfect, and fixed in a full and determinate manner the doctrine of three persons in one God. This doctrine then was not fixed till A.D. 381."¹

Stone's taint of Ariansim was in that he could not accept the term, "eternally begotten." He declared that "the notion of a being begotten from eternity appears absurd; because the agent begetting must precede the thing begotten. To say that the one eternal, indivisible God was begetting and begotten at the same instant, is to say that God was active and passive at the same instant; active in begetting and passive in being begotten; which appears impossible as before observed."² Stone's reasoning reminds us of what Athanasius calls the "insensate and contentious" argument of the Arians, when they urged, "If there never was, when the Son was not, but He is eternal, and co-exists with the Father, call him no more the Father's Son, but brother."³ This is the unexpressed objection of thousands of christians who have never heard of Arius; and of other thousands who mean to be orthodox, but do not know the exact wording of the creeds. We are unable to conceive of any real meaning to the phrase "eternal generation." The very words "generation," "production," and "begetting," imply a beginning; and, therefore, contradict the idea of absolute eternity. /

1. Stone, Letters of James Blythe, p. 32.

2. Stone, 1814 Address, p. 19.

3. Athanasius against Arius, Oxford Translation, 1880, p. 200.

eternity. Such a conception is beyond the range of human mind, for what can we know of time before the planetary system, which, to us, measures time. The eternity of God is, to man, unknowable. To legislate on unrevealed divine mysteries is to assume the authority of God Himself. Of course, if we consider that the Councils of the Church have been infallibly guided, we must limit our reading and reasoning by their decrees, as is intimated by Bishop Gore, when he states that "the apostolic language is a mine, from which, first taught and guided by the creed of the Church, we can draw a continual and inexhaustible wealth of positive teaching. The decrees are but the hedge, the New Testament is the pasture ground."¹ The Serbian Bishop Nicolai has recently declared to the world that God "has always whispered the truth to the saints"; and that, "The opinions of intellectual persons may be wonderfully clever and yet be false, whereas the experience of the saints is always true."² However, the Protestant world rejects this position; and believes that the Holy Spirit, while acting through human instruments, is limited by their capacity. True to that attitude, Barton Stone persisted in his refusal to say that the Son of God existed from eternity, although he adduced many arguments from the scriptures and from the Fathers, to prove that "he existed before the creation of the worlds, angels, men and things."³ He remained firm in his position that no tenet should be bound on the consciences of men, unless it was clearly taught in the Bible. Of this dogma of the Church, he remarked: "Though the notion appears absurd to our limited capacities, yet I would humbly admit it, if the scriptures ever made such a declaration." He further declares: "Jesus has stopped me from /

1. Gore, The Incarnation of the Son of God, p. 97.

2. Bate, Faith and Order, p. 290 - London, 1927.

3. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 49.

from speculating on this point, when he said, 'No man (literally, no person) knoweth the Son, but the Father.' No person in earth, or heaven, knoweth the Son, how and when the Father begat him. This secret is with the Lord, unrevealed to any in the universe. And yet the vain world have been wrangling for fifteen centuries on this unrevealed secret! We think it sufficient to believe that he is the Son of God - God's own Son, his only begotten Son, his first begotten and beloved Son, sent into the world to save sinners, and that he is fully able to do the work for which he was sent."¹

However, John Poage Campbell, once Barton Stone's friend, but now his most bitter opponent, had denounced him as an Arian, and the denunciation was often repeated by the orthodox party. Campbell, in 1806, wrote: "We have lived to see a time, when the plainest doctrines of the Bible are boldly called in question, and condemned from the pulpit and the press. The deeply ruined and helpless condition of man by nature; the necessity of a divine agency to convert and sanctify the heart; the righteousness of Christ, as the only ground of justification in the sight of God; the wrath of God, and his being reconciled by the cross of Jesus; the vicarious obedience and intercession of the blessed Saviour; the personality and agency of the Holy Ghost; and the equality of the Son with the Father, as a divine person, are either directly denied, or explained away by many who are quite offended, because they are not recognised as Christians and Evangelic instructors."² "Since he (Stone) has clearly and unequivocally abandoned every doctrine which discriminates christianity from the religion of nature, is it of little consequence what name is chosen for his designation, whether /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger iii, p. 60.

2. Campbell, Vindex, p. 150.

whether it be Sabellian, Socinian, Deist, or Infidel. There is no essential difference between the creeds characterised by these appellations.... From the moment I perused his 'Letters' and weighed his opinions, I determined to oppose him. I determined no longer to call him my brother as a christian."¹

To his Presbyterian accusers, Barton Stone defiantly replied: "You still persist in making your notions of trinity a term of christian communion - a doctrine of which you yourself are ignorant, seeing you acknowledge it an incomprehensible mystery - a doctrine of no profit, seeing the mind cannot be rightly affected with unintelligible language and ideas - a doctrine involving so many difficulties, absurdities and contradictions - a doctrine so variously stated and received by its abettors - in fine a doctrine not taught in the scriptures. By what authority do you, sir, thus denounce from your fellowship and communion those who cannot subscribe your dogmas? By what authority do you and your fellow labourers, indiscriminately call us modern infidels, deists, etc. In this unhallowed work your party has taken the lead, and you, the other parties are closely following in dealing out pious abuse against those who deserve better treatment. It becomes you to know your authority to be divine before you thus act - you are responsible to the Judge of all. I advise you to read often, and attentively our Lord's sermon on the mount; and conform yourself to its divine principles. I rest assured, sir, that the fiery persecution now raging against us, has no good effect in promoting piety, but the contrary. Your followers will not always be kept in the dark respecting us and our doctrine, though every effort is made to prejudice them against us, and to keep them from hearing us. They will be free, and will not forever remain under the control /

1. Campbell, Vindex, 1806.

control of the priesthood, so as to surrender their right of reading, hearing and judging for themselves."¹

Although Barton Stone and many of the "Christians" refused to use the Trinitarian terminology, they believed, as has been shown, in the supreme Lordship of Jesus. Freed from the speculative statements of the creeds, they preached Jesus in a simple manner that appealed to the popular mind. James Blythe, who denounced their Christology as Socinian and Arian, and as tending toward German infidelity, speaking of their preaching, remarked that the "Christians" preached these doctrines in sermons "which breathe much of the spirit of the gospel, all delivered in a strain of the most vehement rhapsody."²

In spite of the fact that they were denounced as infidels,³ and that the other churches united against them,⁴ the "Christians" made rapid gains. They co-operated with other groups of like-minded religious people in the eastern part of the United States. The "Republican Methodists" led by James O'Kelley had, even before the beginnings of the "Christians" in Kentucky, given up human creeds and had adopted the name "Christian." In fact, it was by Mr. Haggard of that party, that the Seceders had been convinced that the name "Christian" was the proper designation. Another movement, similar in nature, had been led by Abner Jones, among the Baptists in New Hampshire. These groups, all desiring christian union, anxiously welcomed the opportunity to work together in their conferences. The distinctly Stone movement in Kentucky prospered in spite of the opposition which it had to meet, and the churches and members increased with remarkable rapidity. In 1827, Barton Stone writes /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger ii, pp. 248, 249.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, iii, p. 274.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger, iii, p. 269.
4. Stone, Christian Messenger, iii, p. 280.

writes that the "churches were never in a more prosperous condition."¹ By 1829 there were probably between ten and twelve thousand members in Kentucky alone.² The co-operating forces of "Christians" in the United States were then estimated at 1500 congregations and 150,000 members.³

1. Stone, Christian Messenger ii, p. 238.
2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell ii, p. 370.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger iii, pp. 189, 190.

CHAPTER VII

THE CAMPBELL REFORMATION.

Continued from page 228.

In 1809 there arrived in America, Alexander Campbell, the man who was to become the leader of another movement with the avowed purpose of bringing about the reunion of all christians, on the basis of the Bible alone. It is quite evident from a comparison of the views of Campbell and Stone, that they were aiming at practically the same thing, although they adopted very different methods by which to accomplish that which each proclaimed to be his guiding purpose.

This contrast began in the background of the two leaders. Stone was the product of American frontier life and religious conditions. He had been trained in the Calvinistic system. Influenced by the ideas of liberty, and the appeal to reason, which were the controlling intellectual forces, particularly in the West, at the close of the eighteenth century, he had refused to longer receive the formulated doctrinal statements set forth by the Westminster divines. Because of his insistence on the right of the individual to question the human authoritative standard of the church, he had been led, step by step, first to secede from the Synod of Kentucky, and finally to declare for the broad platform of the Bible alone, as the only basis on which the christian world could meet. He was not concerned with doctrinal uniformity; but, impelled by a great love and feeling of brotherhood for all mankind, he was seeking a common ground of christian faith. The movement known in Kentucky as the "Christian Church", never set out with any definite theological system; it was, rather, an expulsion from the Presbyterianism of that day and place - a rebellion against the intellectual tyranny of creedalism.

Alexander /

Alexander Campbell, on the other hand, was a product of the dissenting religious movements of Ireland and Scotland. His particular religious bias, if we may be permitted to use that term, was acquired under Old World conditions. He brought with him to America, a definite conception of the church, particularly as regards its organisation and worship. His antagonism to the clergy and councils was based on what he had seen in Europe and, quite apart from whether or not it was justifiable under an order of Established Churches, it was not fairly applicable to the religious communions in the young republic at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Alexander Campbell was born near Ballymena, in the county of Antrim, Ireland, on September the 12th, 1788. Thomas Campbell, his father, was undoubtedly the founder of that religious party known first as the "Reformers", and later as the "Disciples"; but so early and so emphatically did the son assume the leadership of the movement, that history generally accords to Alexander Campbell the distinction of having launched that religious communion - now one of the most powerful Protestant bodies in America - popularly known as the "Christian Churches", or "Churches of Christ", and officially as "Disciples of Christ".

Thomas Campbell, the father was a minister in the Anti-burgher branch of the Seceder Presbyterian Church, having studied in the University of Glasgow, and in the Seceder Divinity School then located at Whitburn under the sole professorship of Mr Archibald Bruce. He later became pastor of the church at Ahorey, in county Armagh, Ireland, and to further supplement his income, which was hardly sufficient for his increasing family, he opened an Academy at Rich Hill. Thomas Campbell was popular with his own communion, and in all religious society he manifested /

manifested a spirit of "utmost kindness and charity for those who differed with him in their views, often bewailing the unhappy divisions that existed, and striving to promote, as far as practicable, christian union and peace".¹ Scottish religious history, since the days when Patrick Hamilton and Cardinal Beaton had figured in the tragedies at St. Andrews, had been one of continuous conflicts. Hardly were the Reformed doctrines firmly established under the leadership of John Knox, until the Stuart kings attempted to force the English Episcopacy on the northern countries. But peace did not come with the victory for the Presbyterianism that they had so courageously fought for. The General Assembly was considered by many to manifest an unjust spirit, with its insistence on oaths of office and its enforcing of the law of patronage. A formal break came in 1733 under the leadership of Erskine; and forming the Associate Presbytery, it grew eventually into the Seceder Presbyterian Church. This seceding party, in a few years, divided into the "Anti-burghers" and the "Burghers", and again subdivided into the "New Lights" and the "Old Lights." In Thomas Campbell's day there were four parties in the Seceder Church - the "Old Light Burghers" and the "New Light Burghers", the "Old Light Anti-burghers" and the "New Light Anti-burghers". This bitter party spirit grieved Thomas Campbell, and he took every opportunity to advocate reunion among them. It seems that in 1806 he was sent to the meeting of the Synod at Glasgow, to propose a union, or at least a better relationship between the parties, and although this attempt seems to have been premature, the union did come some years after Thomas Campbell had for ever left Ireland and the Presbyterian Church.

Alexander /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, Vol i, p 40.

Alexander Campbell, although still a youth, shared with his father in this deploration of religious divisions. He had been received as a regular communicant into the church at Ahorey and, according to his father's wishes, was considering the ministry as his life work. He was particularly interested in ecclesiastical history and the circumstances that had caused the continual breaking down of the unity of God's people. The Catholic party which was the most numerous in Ireland, he considered as oppressed by the priests of the church. Through his reading, and his observation of the Roman system, he developed that antipathy to ecclesiasticism which was to be so dominant throughout his life. Again, he considered the Episcopalians in hardly a more favourable light. He thought the people worldly and prone to look down on those of other parties; he considered the ministers insincere, and too much inclined to regard their sacred calling as a living. Even his own Presbyterian church was rent with division. The younger Campbell thus early decided that the authority of creeds and councils only tended to bring contentions and dissensions in the Kingdom of God.

Both Thomas and Alexander Campbell were greatly influenced by the Independents of Ireland and Scotland.¹ Occasionally, when there was no service in his own country parish of Ahorey, Thomas Campbell would attend the meetings that were held at the Independent Church in Rich Hill, and was on friendly terms with Mr Gibson, the pastor. Through this congregation he came in touch with the various dissenting religious movements of that day. Rowland Hill, James Haldane, Alexander Carson, John Walker and other well known free spirits spoke from the Rich Hill Independent pulpit, and left their impressions on the minds of the Campbells. /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, Vol i, p. 59.

Campbells.

Independency had taken root in England during the reign of Elizabeth, when those who had been exiled by the Catholic Queen, Mary Tudor, returned from Geneva with Calvinistic and independent views. Never quite reconciled to the Episcopacy, they developed into the English Congregationalists, and under Brown, Robinson, Brewster, and others, by way of Holland, they planted Congregationalism in the New England colonies. And even though American church history records many ugly tales of how these same Congregationalists, when in the majority in the New World, refused to others the religious liberty which they had left their homes to gain, and having, by law, established in certain of the colonies, their own faith, they whipped and exiled other christians equally sincere; yet it must be remembered that the fundamental principles of Independency were the right of every man to interpret the Scriptures for himself, and the freedom of each local congregation to act without the interference of any outside ecclesiastical authority, whether vested in Synods, Councils or Bishops.

Sir Walter Scott, in the Heart of Midlothian, tells us that the air of Scotland was alien to the growth of Independency. However, we associate its beginnings in that country with the name of John Glas, Minister of the Church of Scotland at Tealing from 1719.¹ He had adopted Independent views and some opinions concerning the Covenants and the nature of the Church, which were not in agreement with the teachings of the Church of Scotland at that time. After some years of investigation and censures, through the channels of the Presbytery of Dundee and the Synod of Angus and Mearns, his deposition was made final in Edinburgh on /

1. A continuation of Mr Glas's Narrative of the Controversy, p. 26.

on March 12, 1730.¹ Since the foundational principles of the theology of John Glas were adopted by other independent bodies in Scotland, and became the nucleus of the "first phase"² of the Campbell teachings, we shall state them briefly just here.

The Holland Covenant Theology as set forth by Johannes Coccejus, was modified by Glas and others, making the division of the Covenants, not at the fall, but at the cross of Jesus. Thus Glas writes: "The Lord points out his death as the end of the old testament or covenant, and the confirmation of the new, when he says in the institution of his supper, This is the new testament, or covenant, in my blood".³ The old covenant was made with the house of Israel; it was the "covenant of works", temporal, but "a glorious type and figure of the everlasting covenant of grace, even the new covenant in Christ's blood". Glas objected to a National Church on the basis of the distinction he made between the Old Testament Church and the New Testament Church. In the Old Testament, the Church and the Commonwealth were the same, and those of other nations were aliens; the New Testament church "consists not of any one earthly Kingdom... but of a Society gathered out of all nations into one in Christ ... Israel became a Church by virtue of the Covenants of Promise These Covenants were the Covenant of Circumcision, and the Sinai Covenant, including in it the whole Law of Commandments, contained in Ordinances ... But now under the New Testament, Christ himself, set forth crucified in the Preached Gospel unto all people without Distinction, to be believed in unto Salvation, is come in the Room of these Covenants whereby the /

1. Prof. Smeaton gives the formation of the Glasites as 1729. (Smeaton, The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, p. 385 - Edinburgh 1889).

Remarks upon Sentence of the Memorial of the Synod, p. 17

2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, Vol i, p. 149.

3. Glas, Works, vol v, p. 115.

the Promise was inclosed to the Jews ... and there's the End of the Sinai Covenant, even Christ the End of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believeth ... In a word, he is all in and unto the Church, and by him we have God's special Presence in the Church; so that whosoever receiveth him in the Gospel is a member of the New Testament Church".¹ It was upon the conviction that Christ "hath abolished in his Flesh the Sinai Covenant", that John Glas and his followers refused "to regard the first day of the week as a Sabbath, or to even call it by that name".² The abolition of the Sinai Covenant, or Ten Commandments, did not mean that we are without moral law, for "There are laws in the new covenant, as well as in the old, even the laws that we see in the book of the new covenant, or scriptures of the New Testament".³ Thus Glas builds his doctrine of the church on the New Testament alone - the Old Testament being but a type of things to come. "That old church was demolished in Christ's death, which abolished the first covenant ... This new church, which is Christ's body, comprehends all whom he redeemed by his blood out of every kindred, tongue and nation /

1. A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Controversy about the National Covenants, pp. 18-27.

2. Longan, Origin of the Disciples, p. 186.

John Glas does not do away with the Sabbath in the sense that we are to now have no Sabbath or day of rest. He "preached Christ crucified, the Mediator of the new Covenant, the Peace of the People, not only with God, but with one another; and shewed how he became so by demolishing the Wall of Partition betwixt Jews and Gentiles, through his Death and Blood sealing the New Testament, which we have now instead of that which is done away". (A Narrative of the Rise and Progress, p. 14) "Christ's resting from his works on the first day of the week, had set aside the seventh day with the earthly typical rest to which it belonged; and that the sabbatism now remaining to God's people is that same other day of the week, on which he entered into his rest, having rested from his works." (The Sabbatism of the People of God, Works, Vol. ii, p. 389).

3. Glas, Works, Vol v, p. 129.

nation, without difference; and all that believe of every nation on earth, are of the same body, with all the saints in heaven, partaking with them of the same Spirit that Jesus Christ the first-begotten of the dead, received from the Father".¹ So we have the theory of the visible and the invisible church. "As the church of the Old Testament prefigured the true church to come, and before it had a being; so a visible church of the New Testament represents it, and shews it forth as now come into being, and as having taken place. A church of the New Testament, that comes together in one place to eat the Lord's Supper, as the church at Corinth, is not the true church, the body of Christ itself, but the sign of it; even as the bread and cup are the signs of his broken body and shed blood; and it is called the church, and the body of Christ, in the same sense wherein the bread that we break is called his broken body, and the cup his blood; even so there is but one church, the body of Christ, though it be represented and shewed forth in every church that, according to his institution comes together anywhere to eat his supper".² "It does not appear that there is any larger society of Christians than that which might assemble to eat the Lord's Supper, anywhere in the New Testament called a church. For when the Societies of Christians, throughout a whole province or nation, are spoken of, they are nowhere called a church, as are the Christians in a city or town, but churches".² Accordingly, although those who followed John Glas were generally called "Glasites" they spoke of their societies as New Testament Churches or "Churches of Christ".

Glas /

1. Glas, Works, vol v., pp. 147, 148.
2. " " " " p. 150.
3. " " " " p. 152.

Glas repudiated all creeds, councils and human authorities. He contended that the organisation or "government of the church is founded in the word of God"; and "that the church in Jerusalem, setting aside what may be shewed to be extraordinary, is a pattern for the constitution and order of all the churches of Christ".¹ "The officers of Christ's institution are distinguished, first into extraordinary and ordinary. The extraordinary, are those that were employed in the first joining together of the New Testament church, the body of Christ, made up of Jews and Gentiles, reconciled to God, in one body, by Christ's death, and in laying the plan of gospel-churches, and in making the New Testament revelation ... The ordinary officers, are these two, and no more, the order of elders or bishops, and the order of deacons".² He believed that bishop and elder are the same in the New Testament. The deacons were appointed for the ministry of tables and for service to the church. The bishop or elder is appointed to the ministry of the word. He must be apt to teach. His work is teaching, preaching, and administering baptism and the Lord's Supper. The peculiarity of Glas's position was in that he taught a plurality of elders. He wrote: "Of these Elders, that were in every Church, there seems to have been more than one, perhaps many in some Churches, labouring in the Word and Doctrine; and whatever may be said as to the being of Order in a Church, yet into the Well-being of it, more such Elders or Bishops, then one seem necessary; else they would not have been set in the first Churches. And there is no ground in the New Testament, for that saying which afterwards became common, one Bishop and one Church: For at first every Church had more Bishops". This party believed that these Elders or Bishops /

1. Glas, Works, vol i. pp. 193, 195
 2. " " " ii pp 213, 214.

Bishops should not be supported by the church, but should earn their living in some trade or profession outside of the ministry. They objected to what they termed the "Dominion of the Clergy", and considered it the duty of all members who were qualified, to take part in the services of the churches, in what they chose to term "mutual exhortation". The idea of the New Testament churches patterned on the church at Jerusalem was pushed to a crass literalism, which led them to the "kiss of charity", feet-washing, and other equally absurd practices. However, John Glas acquired a considerable following, and these "Glasite Churches" as they were at first popularly termed, were to be found in most of the larger towns of Scotland. They were Calvinistic in theology, independent in government, practised infant baptism, and were often bitter in their opposition to those who did not agree with them. As Longan, in his *Origin of the Disciples*, truly states, they "inveighed against creeds, but themselves followed the creed-principle ... These parties made their unwritten articles a test of church fellowship, no less exacting than other sects their written creeds".¹

Robert Sandeman adopted the views of John Glas and became so well known in the religious world that the communion came to be called "Sandemanians". Sandeman won his religious distinction through the development and defence of John Glas's theory of Faith. This was ably set forth in his "Letters on Theron and Aspasio", which was an answer to the widely read publication by Hervey, of Wesley's Holy Club. Glas had taught that Faith was "the crediting of the Record of God, in his Word concerning his Son, as true ... We are to believe concerning this Jesus, That he /

1. Longan, *Origin of the Disciples*, p. 121.

John Glas staunchly defended the proposition, "A congregation or church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery, is, in its discipline, subject to no jurisdiction under heaven".
(Works vol i, p. 197.)

he is the Christ, or the Messiah that was promised and prophesied of in the Old Testament, and that all that was said there of that Messiah is verified, and holds true only and fully in him; and especially that he is the Son of God, described by this same Apostle in the first Chapter of the Gospel written by him, where the Son of God is called the Word ... and declared to be the eternal God by whom all Things are created".¹ Glas and Sandeman taught that religious faith was like any other faith - intellectual assent to testimony. However it was not merely an intellectual assent, without any action on the part of the sinner. Sandeman says that we must consider "him of whom it testifies, as worthy to be affectionately embraced, or cleaved to, at the rate of risking or losing every thing beside".² This Sandemanian conception of faith represented an important school of thought, which was based on the philosophy of the sensationalism of John Locke, and as applied to religion, ably set forth in Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures", which he had published in 1695. Locke considered faith to be nothing more than a steady and firm belief in the revelations of God, but that "the other condition of the Covenant of Grace, altogether as necessary to be performed as this of believing, and that is repentance".³ He continues: "These two, faith and repentance; ie. believing Jesus to be the Messiah and a good life; are the indispensable conditions of the new covenant".⁴ Locke had also preceded John Glas in his Covenant division, having distinguished between the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace. Thus we have the theological system of Scottish /

1. Glas, The Use of the Catechisms, pp. 18, 22.

2. Sandeman, An Essay on Preaching, pp 16, 17.

3. Locke, The Reasonableness of Christianity, p. 194.

4. " " " " " p. 199.

Scottish Independency taking its rise in the religious application of the teachings of one of the most widely discussed philosophical systems of that day.

The Scotch Baptists trace their beginnings to two men from the "Glasite" Churches. Robert Carmichael, minister in the Anti-burgher branch of the Seceder Presbyterian Church, and Archibald McLean, a Glasgow bookseller and a member of the Church of Scotland, had both been converted to the views of John Glas, but soon disagreed with that body on some points. About 1764,¹ in conversation with each other, they became convinced that immersion was the only valid baptism. Carmichael went to London to receive baptism from Dr. Gill of the Baptist Church, and returning, immersed others who were of the same way of thinking. Archibald McLean of the Edinburgh Church came to be regarded as the Father of the Faith. Wm. Jones, the first man to introduce the writings of Alexander Campbell into Britain, was a convert of Archibald McLean and a member of the Scotch Baptist persuasion. These churches, like the "Glasites" were Calvinistic in theology and independent in government. However, they differed from the English Baptists in their insistence on the "apostolic plan". A church was considered defective unless it had a "plurality of Pastors" as well as a body of deacons, and practised the breaking of bread each Lord's day, and for baptised believers only.² Wm. Jones tells us that they taught the "New Testament as the only authorised rule of the religion of Jesus Christ"; and that although "differences of minor import have arisen among these Societies, chiefly relating to the instituted order of the Lord's house, which have marred their unity, and prevented, in some instances, their visible fellowship, yet they have /

1. History of the Baptists in Scotland, p. 45.
Wm Jones gives the beginning of the Scotch Baptists as 1767 when Edinburgh Church was organised - Millennial Harbinger, vol i, p. 71.
2. History of the Baptists in Scotland, p. 51.

have still retained the fundamental principles of the profession, such as weekly communion, the prayers and exhortations of private brethren, a plurality of elders or pastors, &c., in every Church, and these not of the order of the Clergy".¹ This was largely inherited from the Glasites or Sandemanians, from which the Scotch Baptists "had advanced to the truth of believer's baptism".²

The Haldane movement began quite apart from these other dissenting groups. Two brothers, Robert and James Haldane, wealthy lay members of the Church of Scotland, became the Wesley and Whitfield of that northern country. Robert Haldane, disappointed in a missionary enterprise he had organised for India, and stirred by the repudiation of foreign missions by the General Assembly of 1796, when they had stated that there were still plenty of heathen at home, had, during the next year, launched a system of lay preaching, going to all parts of Scotland with the gospel story. In December, 1797, he organised a "Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home". Thomas Campbell warmly sympathised with this movement, and became a member of the Evangelical Society.³ As the movement took fire, classes were organized in the main centres, for the training of leaders. Large tabernacles were built in the cities, and here various speakers would come to teach the thousands that assembled at these popular places. The famous Rowland Hill opened the Edinburgh Circus in July 1798, with the intention of making a mission that would attract the man who did not go to the churches. No idea of founding a separate denomination was first thought of, and the Haldanes still communed with the Church of Scotland. James Haldane became the leader of the Edinburgh group. Mr Greville Ewing of the Church of Scotland /

1. Jones, Millennial Harbinger, vol i, pp 71, 72.

2. History of the Baptists in Scotland, p. 52.

3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, p. 73.

Scotland, formerly pastor of Lady Glenorchy's Church in Edinburgh and who was sympathetic with the Haldane movement, was given charge of the Tabernacle at Jamaica Street at Glasgow. Being a man of considerable education, Mr Ewing organised in connection with his work at Glasgow, a training school for the itinerant ministers. Robert Haldane was the executive mind back of the movement, and his liberality was the means of promoting the cause. His biographer estimates that between the years 1799 and 1807 he expended between 50,000 and 60,000 pounds on this system of home missions, and that by 1810 this amount had increased to more than 70,000 pounds. James Haldane, although not as wealthy as his brother, was equally liberal, and never received any compensation for his ministerial labours.

Still another Independent movement began about this time under the leadership of John Walker of England. Displeased with the worldliness of the church, he had resigned his post as fellow and teacher in Trinity College and minister at Bethesda Chapel, had discarded his clerical garb and had organised a separate group in Dublin. Whether or not the Scotch Baptist teachings caused this change, as is sometimes claimed,¹ there were certain resemblances in the innovations advocated. Walker taught that there should be no stated ministers, but that all members should speak in the meetings. He won many adherents to his doctrines, particularly at Plymouth in England, from which his followers have been called the "Plymouth Brethren". John Walker had preached at Rich Hill and the Campbells had become personally acquainted with him. Alexander, particularly, was strongly impressed by this forceful personality.²

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1. Jones, Millennial Harbinger, vol i., p 73.

2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i.p60.

The Rich Hill Independents, with which the Campbells were familiar, sympathised with the Haldanean movement, and adopted the Glas or Sandemanian doctrines only in part. They observed the Lord's supper each week, but they were largely free from the controversial spirit of these parties. Alexander Campbell's biographer tells us that it did not appear that he acquired, while in Ireland, "anything more than a general knowledge of the history of these parties. If he became at all acquainted with the peculiar views of Sandeman in regard to faith, it is certain he was far from adopting them; and that, even after his emigration to the United States, he continued to hold essentially the views of this subject entertained by Presbyterians".¹ However, the seeds of Independency were well planted in his mind, although he did not then fully adopt that principle, so in opposition to the Presbyterianism that he had been taught to revere.

Thomas Campbell, because of failing health, determined to visit America, with the possibility of making this new land his future home. Leaving his family behind until he should be firmly established in his work, he arrived in Philadelphia on May 27th, 1807, and finding the Seceder Synod of North America in session in that city, he immediately presented his credentials, and was assigned to the Presbytery of Chartiers, located chiefly in Washington County, Pennsylvania. That section of the state, of which Pittsburg is now the centre, was then, as it still is, a stronghold of the various forms of Presbyterianism. Thomas Campbell loved all men. He believed that in this "freest land" the minds of christians, and particularly the ministry, would not be bound with the sectarian rigidity of the Old World. Prof. Loos, himself a friend of the Campbells, wrote of him:

The /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 71.

"The new Irish minister at once gained a wide and strong influence. His natural ability, his scholarship and literary culture, made him much superior to the preachers in that region in those days; and his deep religious fervour and zeal, and his rare courtesy of manners, won the hearts of the people. With his large intelligence and broad Christian charity he could not and did not respect in his labours as a servant of the Lord, the narrow spirit and strict, illiberal rules and habits of the Seceder Church. Besides, as a special motive for the enlargement of his ministerial sympathies, he had providentially found near him in his new home a number of excellent Christian people who had come over from Ireland - Presbyterians and Independents, some of whom had been his acquaintances and cherished friends in his native land. These at once gathered around him, and he promptly took them to his heart in his ministrations as Christian brethren. This sort of freedom, however, was not in consonance with 'the usages' of the Seceders".¹

As Thomas Campbell travelled on a missionary tour through the outlying districts, he was impressed by the numerous branches of the various denominations, which were represented among these people; and with the fact that many had no pastoral care whatever. This led him to publicly deplore division, and to invite all of the Christians of a particular community to participate in the Lord's Supper, although he knew that this was not the practice of that branch of the church to which he belonged. Although humble and peaceful in nature, he was not afraid to do what he knew to be right; the fellowship of God's children was to him more important than a creed which refused communion even to its brother Presbyterians. His travelling companion reported this breach of the rules of the church, and Thomas Campbell was censured /

1. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century. pp 20, 21.

censured before Presbytery. He appealed to Synod, but that body sustained the action of Presbytery and allowed the censure to remain. "How great the injustice", he declared in this appeal, "how highly aggravated the injury will appear, to thrust out from communion a Christian brother, a fellow-minister, for saying and doing none other things than those ~~which~~ our Divine Lord and his holy apostles have taught and enjoined to be spoken and done by his ministering servants, and to be received and observed by all his people! It is, therefore, because I have no confidence, either in my own infallibility or in that of others, that I absolutely refuse, as inadmissible and schismatic the introduction of human inventions into the faith and worship of the Church. Is it, therefore, because I plead the cause of the scriptural and apostolic worship of the Church, in opposition to the various errors and schisms which have so awfully corrupted and divided it, that the brethren of the Union should feel it difficult to admit me as their fellow-labourer in that blessed work? ... You are willing to be tried in all matters by your standard, according to your printed declaration; I am willing to be tried on all matters by my standard, according to my written declaration".¹ We quote again from Prof. Loos; "As Luther before the imperial assembly at Worms, reverently and fervently appeals to the Word of God, but was condemned by the 'law of the Church', so Thomas Campbell, with a holy zeal, invoked in his defence the Holy Scriptures; but his tribunal, repelling this argument, decided the case according to the traditions of their Church ... The hour had not yet come, nor is it yet to-day prevalent throughout Protestant Christendom, when all things in the Church are judged only and directly by the Word of God pure and simple, as the supreme arbiter. But to this end the Church must /

1. Quoted in Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i pp. 226-228.

must at last come. When it will reach this goal we cannot say. The times, however, give conspicuous tokens that the mind and heart of Evangelical Christendom are turning more and more in that direction; and the current will become stronger and stronger and more manifest as time advances".¹

Thomas Campbell, although under censure, considering as he did that division was a greater sin than difference of opinion attempted to continue in fellowship with the Seceder Church; but their disapproval of him and of his liberal views soon became so manifest that he peacefully withdrew from the communion, by sending the Synod a formal renunciation of their control.

However, he continued to preach among the people of Washington and Alleghany counties, and many were interested in his plea for christian liberty and christian union. These gatherings were generally held in private houses, or, during the summer /

1. Garrison, *The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 32. Canon Woods most effectively contrasts the action of the Lausanne Conference, in not attempting a communion service, with Eugene Burnand's painting, the "Last Supper" which hung in a hall under the same roof which covered the learned assembly. "One's mind's eye wandered off to that picture pretty frequently when the Conference was grappling with the subject of the Sacraments. And the contrast suggested was rather poignant: He giving to His friends, then and for all time, a sacred meal which was to be at once a pledge of his abiding love and a symbol of their complete unity the one with the other in Him; we, twenty centuries later, servants of His, and in some sort of fellowship with one another, but quite unable to partake of the Meal together, and not without misgivings as we attempt to seek a common mind about its meaning and its use. It was a relief to many of us, in our common devotions and especially in the mid-Conference Cathedral service, to be called to express our deep penitence for such gross and culpable failure". Woods, *Lausanne 1927*, London, 1927, pp. 105, 106.

summer months - in true pioneer fashion - in shady groves; for having withdrawn from the Seceder Church their meeting-houses were closed against him. After careful consideration and consultation with those who were heartily in sympathy with the principles for which he stood, a conference was held at the home of Abraham Altars, with the result that on August 17th, 1809, they formed themselves into "The Christian Association of Washington". Thomas Campbell deplored the divisions among Christ's followers, and announced his advocacy of the Bible as the only infallible standard for the faith of the church. He urged that human traditions be rejected, and that they adopt as the rule of their society the following declaration, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent". The assembly consisting of Presbyterians, Seceders and Independents, after much discussion and premonition as to where such a course might finally lead them, agreed with the principles advocated, and they set forth with their chief aim as the promotion of Christian union on the Bible alone .. That meeting dated the beginning of the Campbell reformation in an organised way.¹

Some few weeks later, the principles for which the Society stood - they did not claim to be a Church, but only a protest against division - were at some length set forth in the "Declaration and Address", written by Thomas Campbell. In this historical document, he prefaces his thirteen articles with the following significant statement: "Let none imagine that the subjoined propositions are at all intended as an overture toward a new creed or standard for the Church, or as in any wise designed to be a term of communion; nothing can be further from our intention. They are merely designed to open up the way, that we may come fairly and firmly to original ground upon clear and certain /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 237.

certain premises, and take up things just as the Apostles left them, that thus disentangled from the accruing embarrassments of intervening ages, we may stand with evidence upon the same ground on which the Church stood at the beginning". Thus Thomas Campbell was pleading for a reunion of all Christians, by a return to the primitive church as set forth in the New Testament. Although some would question, from the pages of church history, whether or not the conclusions of Robert Richardson could be fully sustained, they are interesting just here: "Never before had any reformer taken distinctly such ground as this. Never before had any one presumed to pass over so lightly the authorities and usages and decisions of so many intervening centuries. Here, indeed, was the startling proposition to begin anew - to begin at the beginning; to ascend at once to the pure fountain of truth, and to neglect and disregard, as though they had never been, the decrees of Popes, Councils, Synods, Assemblies, and all the traditions and corruptions of an apostate Church. Here was an effort not so much for the reformation of the Church, as was that of Luther and of Calvin, and to a certain extent even that of the Haldanes, but for its complete restoration at once to its pristine purity and perfection. By coming at once to the primitive model and rejecting all human imitations; by submitting implicitly to the Divine authority as plainly expressed in the Scriptures, and by disregarding all the assumptions and dictations of fallible men, it was proposed to form a union upon a basis to which no valid objection could possibly be offered. By this summary method, the Church was to be at once released from the controversies of eighteen centuries, and from the conflicting claims of all pretenders to apostolic thrones, and the primitive gospel of salvation was to be disentangled and disembroiled from all those corruptions and /

and preversions which had heretofore delayed or arrested its progress".¹

While Thomas Campbell, the father, was making this break with his former brethren, Alexander was environed by influences that led him in his heart, although not yet openly, to renounce Presbyterianism for ever.² With the family, he had, on October 1st, 1808, set out for America, but because of shipwreck, they were forced to return. Since winter was approaching, they decided to spend some months in Glasgow so that Alexander could study at the University where his father had been educated. During the three hundred days spent in Scotland, although but a young man of twenty he experienced a complete "revolution in his views and feelings in respect to the existing denominations", which opinions were "to disengage his sympathies entirely from the Seceder denomination and every other form of Presbyterianism. This change seems to have been occasioned chiefly through his intimacy with Greville Ewing".³

Greville Ewing, it will be remembered, had been given charge of the Haldane Tabernacle at Glasgow, The Haldane movement had gone through some swift changes since its beginning in 1798. In January 1799, largely due to the influence of Mr. Ewing,⁴ the Edinburgh Haldane group had been organised into an Independent church, and this example was quickly followed by the other congregations. Influenced by the teachings of the Scotch Baptists and the Sandemanians, they attempted "to approximate the ideal model of primitive christianity",⁵ It was assumed by the new Church as a principle, that Christians are religiously bound /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, pp 257, 258
2. " " " " " i p. 190.
3. " " " " " i p. 148.
4. Haldane, Memoirs, p. 353.
5. " " p. 353.

bound to conform their ecclesiastical usages to the practices or customs of the "apostolic Churches".¹ Accordingly they observed the Lord's Supper each Lord's Day instead of twice a year as formerly; this change was the result of a treatise published in 1802 by James Haldane. Other principles of the Scotch Baptists and the Sandemanians² were rapidly adopted, and each additional change caused new disagreements in the ranks. The Haldanes were immersed; Ewing was an earnest advocate of infant baptism, and was opposed to immersion.³ Wm. Ballantyne, one of their ministers, caused a serious division of opinion, when he wrote a pamphlet in which he advocated the plurality of pastors. James Haldane, in 1807, widened the breach in the church, by his insistence on "mutual edification" as a duty "incumbent on us as a Church of Christ". He writes: "Although at first we did not perceive it, the order of our worship does not correspond with that of the apostolic churches According to our present practice, all the services of the Lord's day evolve upon an individual. Even the coming together of the brethren on that day is suspended in his absence, unless there be time and opportunity to call in the assistance of a preacher to supply his lack of service..... It naturally leads us to consider our edification as entirely depending on the pastor. The Scriptures, on the other hand, while they shew the importance of the leader's office, and teach us, that a church without elders is incomplete, insist on the duty of the brethren admonishing each other. Thus a broader foundation is laid for the edification of the church, and an opportunity is given to all to communicate what /

1. Haldane, Memoirs, p. 354.

2. Greville Ewing favoured their views on Independency and the general theological principles advocated. The Haldanes disapproved of the Sandeman theory of faith.

3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 187.

what they learn from the study of the Scriptures. It is evident from the whole structure of the epistles, that the first churches proceeded on this plan; and I am well persuaded that we cannot produce clearer evidence for any ordinance we observe than for that of mutual exhortation".¹

Greville Ewing, himself a man of high birth and splendid education,² at the risk of alienating the Haldane funds, promptly published his "Doctrine of Scripture", which was in direct opposition to the Haldane insistence on "mutual exhortation". He wrote: "The word of God is the only authority which we are bound to obey, in our Christian fellowship. But our heavenly Father has not thought it proper to give a minute detail of the formation and the practice of his primitive churches."³... In our present state, we are not warranted to expect uniformity of Christian fellowship, among the churches of Christ.... If Jesus Christ had intended, by the unity of his disciples, a unity of church order, he would have described it as minutely, as Moses does the construction of the tabernacle, and the rites of the passover, or any other sacrifice. This, however, he has not done. Accordingly, Christians, equally wise and good, frequently differ conscientiously in opinion respecting the meaning of particular passages of scripture, while they agree in acknowledging no other rule⁴.... By means of these spiritual gifts, which were frequently distributed among all the original members of a church, the men were enabled to conduct the worship, and to edify and govern the church, when the apostles, or their fellow-labourers /

1. Haldane, An Address to the Church of Christ meeting at Leith Walk, pp 10, 11.

2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, p. 149.

3. Ewing, Doctrine of Scripture, p. 4.

4. " " " p. 6.

labourers were called elsewhere, and when the ordinary office-bearers were not yet appointed¹.... The education, then, of pious men for the work of the ministry, under the tuition of pastors and teachers, seems to be the chief allowance which ought to be made for the difference of circumstances between the primitive and later churches, occasioned by the cessation of spiritual gifts².... At present Churches are advised (by Haldane) to look with a jealous eye on the education of men for the ministry; to decline seeking a pastor beyond their own company³.... And now it is publicly recommended to the churches to lay no stress upon learning at all; to confine themselves to such teachers as they can find among themselves, whether learned or unlearned; nay, to unite purposely in the same office some of the one description and some of the other. What a monstrous scheme of ignorance and confusion is this!⁴ ... We have no hesitation in admitting that churches may have more than one bishop, if the one bishop and the members be all cordially agreed upon the measure, and it seems to be called for by some actual exigency, and not by a mere love of a theory. But we have found no evidence, that such a plan is either necessary, or generally desirable. To censure churches because they do not have a plurality of bishops, is altogether unwarrantable.⁵.... After reading some modern publications on church government, a man may well wonder, that he does not find in scripture, some such prophecy as this: 'In the last days perilous times shall come, for men shall sit, when they should stand and stand when they should kneel; they shall eat the Lord's supper in the afternoon, and not in the forenoon; they shall administer discipline on a Friday /

~~1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 181.~~

1. Ewing, Doctrine of Scripture, p. 10.

2. " " " p. 42.

3. " " " p. 42.

4. " " " p. 57

5. " " " p. 98.

Friday evening, and not on the Lord's day; they shall not attempt to act as pastors, unless they really be pastors; they shall prefer one pastor who is learned, to fifty who are unlearned; and shall treat him with a degree of respect and liberality, which shall be declared to be truly disagreeable, by those who are of opposite sentiments.¹ (2 Tim. 3 & 5) We are sure it will grieve our brethren when they shall come to see, how much some of their measures have contributed to establish the supposed necessity of retaining every abuse among churches, in order to preserve their order and existence. For many a year to come, Babylon shall hush to silence and to terror, such of her children as may prove restless and inquisitive, by pointing to the dismal condition of subdivided churches. - 'If you will not lie still, and slumber in my bosom, yonder is your fate.'²

Because of Greville Ewing's spirited opposition to the Haldane theory of "church order" - which proved to be "largely productive of church disorder, and threatened to destroy completely the pastoral office", and did finally lead to the dissolution of the Haldane movement, - Robert Haldane, being of a determined nature, refused to longer support those who opposed his views of church reform. The Glasgow Tabernacle was accordingly cut off from his financial assistance, to which the rapid growth of the cause had largely been due; and the Glasgow congregation was asked to reimburse him for the building of their Tabernacle.³

Alexander Campbell arrived in Glasgow early in November, 1808. Having been given a letter of introduction to Greville Ewing, he went directly to his home, No. 4 Calton Place,⁴ Mr. Ewing /

1. Ewing, Doctrine of Scripture, p. 219.

2. " " " " p. 221.

3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, pp. 174, 175.
See also Haldane Memoirs.

4. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 128.

Ewing proved very helpful in assisting them to find suitable lodgings, and in introducing him to the Professors at the University. Alexander with other students was frequently invited to the Ewing home for dinners and teas, at which times he met others interested in the movement,¹ and obtained an intimate knowledge of the history of Mr Ewing and the Haldanes. It was only the year before that the controversy concerning "mutual exhortation" had taken place, and the subject was much discussed at these social gatherings.² The disagreements connected with reimbursing the Haldanes for the Glasgow Tabernacle, were a matter of public interest during Alexander Campbell's stay in Scotland. While he was very devoted to Mr Ewing personally, and was a regular attendant at his services, Alexander thought him wrong in these disputes and was in sympathy with the Haldanes.³ He admired the liberality and service of Robert and James⁴ Haldane and determined that he would follow their example in preaching without any salary. In this determination he persisted, receiving neither compensation for his labours in the church, nor reimbursement for the expense of travel from place to place.⁵ He agreed with the Haldanes in their great devotion to the authority /

1. It was from the Haldane movement that "Mr Campbell received his first impulse as a religious reformer, and which may be regarded, indeed, as the first phase of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out so successfully to its legitimate issues". (Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 149.)
2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i., p. 182.
3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 175.
4. In 1826 Alexander Campbell stated: "I do not believe that there lives upon the earth a more godly, pious, primitive christian than James Haldane of Edinburgh, and few, if any, more generally intelligent in their christian scriptures". Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 229.
5. In the Christian Baptist for June 7, 1824, he writes: "I did, from a confirmed disgust at the popular schemes, which I confess I principally imbued when a student at Glasgow, determine that I should, under the patronage of the Almighty, render all the services I could to my fellow creatures, by means of the bible, without any earthly compensation whatever". (Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 72)

authority of the Bible in all matters of faith and order.¹ He was impressed with the courageous spirit with which they launched their system of lay preaching, often in defiance of the clergy.² For some time Campbell had been losing sympathy with the idea of the ministry as a separate order, and was becoming more and more convinced of the rightness of lay preaching.³ For the effect of this year in Scotland on the religious convictions of Alexander Campbell, Richardson, a recognised Disciple authority, wrote: "The opportunity which he thus enjoyed at Glasgow, of hearing preachers of different denominations, and the intimacy he enjoyed with them, tended greatly to foster his native independence of mind, and to release him from the denominational influences of his religious education - an effect which was, doubtless, facilitated by the fact that his revered father, to whose religious sentiments he was accustomed to pay the utmost deference, was now separated from him by the wide Atlantic. It was, however, by the facts relating to the Haldanes so often recounted to him by Mr Ewing and others, that as formerly intimated, the change in his religious views was chiefly due /

1. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, vol. i, p. 176. Robert Haldane was one of the leading advocates of that day for the theory of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. He financed the literary labours of Alexander Carson who was better qualified, educationally to meet the opponents to this theory. However, Haldane himself wrote in defence of his belief: "The Scriptures of the Old Testament and of the New, are not only genuine and authentic, but also inspired. The claim of inspiration which they advance, is a claim of infallibility and of perfection. It is also a claim of absolute authority, which demands unlimited submission. It is the claim of being the Book or Word of God, as being dictated by God... If any writing is inspired the words of necessity must be inspired because the words are the writing; for what is a writing but words written? The thoughts and sentiments are the meaning of the words. To say that a writing is inspired, while the words are uninspired, is a contradiction in terms." (Haldane, *The Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation*, London, 1839, vol. i. pp. 207-212.)
2. See Haldane *Memoirs*.
3. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, vol. i. p. 108.

due. He was particularly impressed with the persistent opposition of the clergy of the various establishments to every overture for reformation;¹ with the unscrupulous methods they often resorted to to hinder the progress of the truths they refused to admit and the disposition they constantly manifested to exercise the power which they possessed in an arbitrary manner. He became, therefore, gradually, more and more favourable to the principles of Congregationalism entertained by Mr Ewing, which secured an entire emancipation from the control of domineering Synods and General Assemblies, and which seemed to him much more accordant with primitive usages. At the same time, he did not feel himself at liberty to abandon rashly the cherished religious sentiments of his youth, and the Seceder Church to which his father and the family belonged, and in which he had thought it his duty to be a regular communicant".² In September, 1809, Alexander Campbell arrived in America. He was surprised and pleased to hear that his father had left the Seceders, for he need now fear no opposition to the "views to which he had himself been definitely brought while in Glasgow".³ He heartily agreed with the principles of the "Declaration and Address" and determined to devote his life to the disseminating of the teachings contained therein, and that without receiving any financial compensation. Writing, in 1824, of that transitional period in his life, he said; "I arrived in this country with credentials in my pocket from that sect of the Presbyterians known by the name of Seceders. These credentials certified that I had been both in Ireland in the Presbytery of Market Hill, and in Scotland in the presbytery of Glasgow, a member of the Secession /

1. Mr Campbell's attention seems to have been entirely confined to the main purposes of the reformation undertaken by the Haldanes and to these principles of Independency and church order in which Mr Ewing was particularly interested. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, p. 187.
2. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, vol i, pp. 188, 189.
3. " " " " " " p. 220.

Secession church, in good standing. My faith in creeds and confessions of human device was considerably shaken while in Scotland, and I commenced my career in this country under the conviction that nothing that was not as old as the New Testament should be made an article of faith, a rule of practice, or a term of communion among christians. In a word, that the whole of the christian religion exhibited in prophecy and type in the Old Testament, was presented in the fullest, clearest, and most perfect manner in the New Testament by the Spirit of wisdom and revelation. This has been the pole-star of my course ever since, and I thank God that he has enabled me so far to prosecute it, and to make all my prejudices and ambition bow to this emancipating principle".¹

Thomas Campbell was a man of peace. Seeing no disposition on the part of the various denominations to adopt his platform of union on the Bible alone, and fearing that this movement would only form another sect, at the suggestion of some friendly Presbyterians, but against the wishes of Alexander², he, through the Synod of Pittsburg, sought fellowship with the regular Presbyterian Church. The Synod meeting at Washington, Pennsylvania, did on October 2nd 1810, unanimously decline to admit to its communion, the "Christian Association". It was as an Association that the application for admittance had been made. Thomas Campbell's own theological opinions were quite in agreement with the Westminster Confession³, except that he considered that there was therein given to the clergy a position unauthorised. He did not object to the creed because he could not receive it, but because he considered creeds, as creeds, to be divisive. Added to the /

1. Campbell, Original Christian Baptist, Sept. 6, 1824.
Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 92.
2. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century. p. 48.
3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, p. 232.

the irregularity of admitting, as a body, a group such as the "Christian Association", which was in itself a protest against denominationalism. there may have been personal reasons for refusing to admit Thomas Campbell. Although but a young man and new to the country, Alexander Campbell had, in the local newspaper, over the signature of "Bonus Homo"¹ severely criticised Washington College, a Presbyterian school in that town, which was led by Pres. Brown, whose name is recorded in American Church history as the long respected President of Canonsburg or Jefferson College. This article appeared just about the time that the Synod assembled, and in a village such as Washington then was, it is hardly probable that they did not at least suspicion the source of this criticism. Out of fairness to the Presbyterians, we must admit that perhaps prompted by the not-uncommonly shown contempt of the student from an old and established University over those from smaller and less known institutions, - the "natural vanity of his mind"² was early displayed in this presumptuous action; and the Synod after careful consideration might justly fear that this young man from Glasgow University would be but a source of dissension in their midst. However their refusal aroused the naturally combative soul of Alexander and led him to give a vigorous reply before a large audience on the first of the following November. This was the beginning of Alexander Campbell's open opposition to the Presbyterian Church,³ and of that antagonism which led him to be its most militant opponent, both by the power of his pen and through his skill in forensic debate.

From this time, being of a more aggressive nature than his father, he gradually assumed the leadership of the new movement, and by changing the emphasis on the principles declared, turned it into a reformation of quite a different nature from that first conceived/

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i pp 295,310.
2. Jones, Autobiography, p. 115.
3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 347.

conceived by Thomas Campbell. However we are reminded by Prof. Loos, that the "Declaration and Address" and the "Appeal" to Synod, "prove to us that this great enterprise to restore in spirit and form, in doctrine and life, apostolic Christianity, was conceived and projected in its principles by Thomas Campbell, in remarkable completeness and clearness, before his son Alexander had yet reached the shores of this Western world".¹ Thomas Campbell was by disposition, opposed to controversy as such. Alexander was a more radical reformer. During his University days he had imbibed much of the spirit of the Haldanean movement which was "in the nature of protest against prevailing evils rather than in any constructive work which would lead to the Restoration of Primitive Christianity".² This critical spirit combined with his forceful personality, logical reasoning and brilliant oratorical ability, was to make of him one of the best known and most feared of America's religious controversialists. Wm. Moore, in his "History of the Disciples", states that Alexander Campbell soon realised "that the movement which had been started would require something more than the admirably constructive phrases, the gentle spirit, and the finely poised conservatism of the 'Declaration and Address'. He saw that some radical work had to be done, and much rubbish removed from the walls of Jerusalem before the waste places of Zion could be restored. Hence in the spirit of Nehemiah, when rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, he believed in taking the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other. While he was building he trained himself and all those associated with him to vigorously 'contend for the faith once for all delivered to the saints'./

1. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth century, p. 41.
2. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, p. 130.

saints'.¹

After their rejection by the Presbyterians, the members of the "Christian Association" organised themselves into the Brush Run Church. The principles for which they stood "were almost identical with those held by the churches established by the Haldanes, with which Alexander Campbell had become familiar during his residence in Scotland".² Their aversion to written creeds and their insistence on the Scriptures as the only authority;³ the independence of each local church; the government of each congregation by deacons and elders; the practice of lay-preaching and the refusal to make any distinction between clergy and laity; the observance of the Lord's Supper each Lord's day;⁴ the rejection of the Old Testament as binding on Christians,⁵ and the refusal to use the term Sabbath;⁶ and the belief that although infant baptism was not a direct command in the New Testament, it should be tolerated,⁷ were all principles carried over from Scottish Independency.

Having married and settled on the farm which was part of his wife's heritage, Alexander Campbell spent much time in reading the theological works of the day. During the winter of 1811 and 1812, he went thoroughly into the then-existing controversy on faith, reading Hervey, Sandeman, Cudworth, Bellamy, and others; and concluded that "in this controversy, Sandeman was like a giant among dwarfs".⁸ He gave up ~~all~~ his former view, that /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, pp. 130, 131.
2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 349.
3. " " " " pp. 348, 349.
4. " " " " p. 372.
5. For brief statement of Alexander Campbell's Covenant Theology see Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, pp 38, 40.
6. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, p. 432.
7. " " " " pp. 345, 348, 349, 362, 392.
8. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 228.

that faith was a direct result of "regenerating grace", and largely accepted the position of Sandeman.¹

About this same time, he, with others of the Brush Run Church, became convinced that immersion was the scriptural baptism. They were accordingly baptised by Elder Luce of the Baptist Church. This action lost to them many members of their group, for those who could not accept immersion, returned to their former religious communions.

As soon as the Brush Run Church became an immersionist body, they became exclusive, and would allow only those who had been baptised to take part in the religious services, particularly in the Lord's Supper.² Much of this exclusiveness, Alexander Campbell acquired from reading the works of John Walker, (of the Plymouth Brethren) whom he much admired. During the winter of 1811-12, he read several books by Walker,³ and adopted his views in so far that he questioned whether there would be any real religious communion with unbelievers present, even in family worship.⁴ In December, 1815, he wrote home to his uncle in Ireland: "I am now an Independent in church government;... of that faith and view of the gospel exhibited in John Walker's seven letters to Alexander Knox, and a Baptist in so far as respects baptism."⁵ With John Walker, he considered that /

1. In 1826, after Alexander Campbell had himself made several changes from this original position taken by the Brush Run Church, he wrote of his Scotch religious heritage: "I am pretty well acquainted with all this controversy, since John Glas was excommunicated by the High Church of Scotland, for preaching, that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, which is now more than a century ago; and while I acknowledge myself a debtor to Glas, Sandeman, Harvey, Cudworth, Fuller and M'Lean; as much as to Luther, Calvin and John Wesley; I candidly and unequivocally avow, that I do not believe that any one of them had clear and consistent views of the Christian religion as a whole".

(Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 229.)

2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol i. pp 454, 455.
 3. " " " " vol i. p. 442.
 4. " " " " vol i. p. 449.
 5. " " " " vol i. p. 466.

too, that the New Testament presents baptism as prior to social prayer and praise, as indispensably preceding these, as the Lord's Supper. I have thought and thought and vascillated very much, on the question, whether Baptists and ^{Paido} Paidos, Baptists ought, could, would or should, irrespective of their peculiarities, sit down at the same Lord's table. And one thing I do know, that either they should cease to have communion in prayer, praise, and other religious observances, or they should go the whole length Dear sir, this plan of making our own nest, and fluttering over our own brood; of building our own tent, and of confining all goodness and grace to our noble selves and the 'elect few' who are like us, is the quintessence of sublimated pharisaism To lock ourselves up in the bandbox of our own little circle; to associate with a few units, tens, or hundreds, as the pure Church, as the elect, is real Protestant monkery, it is evangelical pharisaism".¹ The facts of the case and his many varying statements, leave us doubtful as to just what Alexander Campbell did finally conclude on this subject. Robert Richardson, his biographer, and for many years his close friend and co-labourer, tells of him: "From his lively sense of the prevalent corruptions of the gospel and its institutions, and his conscientious scruples in regard to yielding to these any countenance or toleration, Mr Campbell, even down to his later years, would occasionally, amongst private friends, contend for the principles almost as exclusive and rigid as those of Walker".²

In 1813, the Brush Run Church, upon application, was accepted as a part of the Redstone, Baptist Association. Thus Thomas and Alexander Campbell became members of the Baptist Church /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 238.

2. Richardson, Memoirs, of Alexander Campbell, vol i, p. 454.

Church, a union which was to continue for fifteen or twenty years, "a good part of that time more formal than real". But the Campbells were not in agreement with the Baptist church in all points. Both parties stood for immersion of the penitent believer as the only scriptural mode of baptism; and agreed in certain respects on independency in church government. However their differences were much greater than their similarities and were due to cause a distinct cleavage in the Baptist Church. Alexander Campbell emphasised the distinction between the Old and New Covenant, teaching that Christians were not under Moses but under Christ; to the Baptists this was heresy of the worst sort. As regards the work of Holy Spirit in conversion Campbell believed that 'faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God'; the Baptists, on the other hand, being intensely Calvinistic, taught that faith was the result of the immediate regenerating work of the Spirit, and emphasised "experimental religion" as a sign of acceptance with God. Campbell repudiated the distinction between clergy and laity, and insisted in the "ancient order" in matters of church worship; the Baptists, although they did not insist on the ministry as a special order, had many men who devoted their entire time to the church, and had no other means of livelihood.

This union with the Baptists was of unmeasured advantage to Alexander Campbell, for it gave him a created religious constituency through which he could propagate his reforming views. To the Baptists, on the other hand, he was valuable; for with his brilliant controversial powers, he was everywhere hailed as their champion against the Paedo-Baptists. But his views were very different from theirs, and it soon became evident that, in giving him freedom to teach his "New Testament Christianity", they had bargained /

bargained for more than they expected when the union was formed. Captivated by the personal ability of Alexander Campbell, and the fact that the Brush Run Church had become an immersionist body, they admitted to their communion the man, who from their standpoint - as recorded by one of their recognised historians - 'was destined to exert greater evil among the Baptists of Kentucky, than any other man of his generation'.¹ Campbell on his part, wrote, in 1825; "The Baptist Society have as much liberality in their views, as much of the ancient simplicity of the Christian religion, as much of the spirit of Christianity among them, as is to be found amongst any other people and I do intend to continue in connection with these people so long as they will permit me to say what I believe, to teach what I am assured of, and to censure what is amiss in their views and practices".²

It was through the Baptist Church that Alexander Campbell was brought before the public, and given the opportunity to disseminate his reformatory views. In 1820 he represented that communion in a public debate against John Walker, a minister in the Seceder Church. This discussion was on the subject of Infant Baptism, and was printed for general circulation among the Baptists. Again in 1823 he was their representative on the same subject, against Rev. Maccalla a Presbyterian Minister of Kentucky. During these debates, Campbell advocated the doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins, a position which was to become prominent in his reformation, and which was to cause a still greater cleavage in the Baptist church. These debates were important in that they extended Campbell's influence /

1. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 582.

2. Campbell, Original Christian Baptist, vol iii, p. 160.

influence from a frontier settlement to the entire American religious public. The effect on Campbell, himself, was electric. He became conscious of his forensic ability, and was impressed with the value of debate and press in spreading his own views. Through all these years, there had been no tendency, on the part of the religious world, to adopt the position advocated by his small group, and he had begun to despair of effecting any great change.¹

Dr. Haley, in his "Debates that made History", contends that his first public debate "was the real beginning of the Reformation under the leadership of Alexander Campbell. The idea that the movement began in 1809 with the organisation of the Christian Association in Washington, Pennsylvania, and the publication of the Declaration and Address by Thomas Campbell, is one of those historic mistakes, which it is difficult to explain, in view of the facts of the case. The conception of a great constructive movement within the church looking to its reformation, the correction of abuses, and the union of Christians upon the one foundation laid in Zion, did not enter into the mind of Alexander Campbell till the dynamic thrust and shock of a great debate, aroused him to a consciousness of his power to reach and convince the public". We can at least agree with Dr. Haley, that from this time, the course of the reformation was changed, for Alexander Campbell set forth on a career of theological pugilism that for sheer aggressiveness, has not been equaled in the history of the American churches.

This realisation of the power of the printed word, and the increased audience thus gained, led Campbell, in 1823, to begin the publication of the "Christian Baptist", a most vitrolic monthly /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, Vol ii, p. 49.

monthly periodical, which he continued for seven years, and through which he attacked the teachings and practices of christianism. The "Christian Baptist" was published from Buffaloe (Bethany) West Virginia. For a time it was devoted almost entirely, as Spencer said, "to opposing missions, Bible and Tract Societies, and theological schools, and to curtailing the influence and pecuniary support of Christian ministers, whom he styled the 'kingdom of the clergy', and to bringing into discredit the doctrines and practices of the principal religious sects of the country";¹ and, we must add, to advocating the "ancient order" in the worship and organisation of the church. The prospectus stated: "The 'Christian Baptist' shall espouse the cause of no religious sect, excepting that Ancient Sect called 'Christians first at Antioch'. Its sole object shall be the eviction of truth and the exposure of error in doctrine and practice. The editor acknowledging no standard of religious faith or works, other than the Old and New Testaments, and the latter as the only standard of the religion of Jesus Christ, will, intentionally at least, oppose nothing which it contains, and recommend nothing which it does not enjoin".²

The first issue contained a satirical "Sermon on Goats", - evidently meant for the Presbyterians - by the "Rev. Mr Mc... d D.D., F.R.S., " with a text from Prov. 27:27: "And thou shalt have goat's milk enough, for thy food, for the food of thy household and for the maintenance of thy maidens". He likens the person addressed to "a minister of modern times", and "his household and maidens must signify, in the spiritual sense, his family and domestics". - "The goat's milk in the spiritual sense /

1. Spencer, History of the Kentucky Baptists, p. 582.
2. Campbell, Christian Baptist (Original) vol i. Prospectus.

sense of the text, which is represented as abundant, must mean the generous and constant support, which these ministers, their children and servants have received" And continued: "It is a curiosity, the manner in which the goat's milk is obtained. Money is wanted to make the parson a life member of a Bible Society; the goat must be milked and soon the ladies produce the money. A pious young man presents himself as one called for the ministry, but he is not able to obtain an honourable education at Princeton, Providence or Cambridge. Milk the goats is the next step; men, women and children are called, and the help is stripped from them, and the pious young men have goat's milk enough. Missionaries are needed among the heathen in Vermont, Maine and Rhode Island. The goats are milked again, and the missionaries are spreading their fame in all directions. A brother clergyman is dismissed 'because no man has hired him'. The goats are milked, and he is on a mission at twenty or fifty dollars per month. A mission is agreed on in Asia, and the goats are resorted to, who support the friends for twenty-four years; at last this fails, and what next? Mr Ward appears and tells the owners of the goats, nothing can be done unless a college is built in Asia, and some of the natives made ministers. The goats are called up, and ten thousand dollars are collected; the goats are left to feed on the high bills, until another milking time returns, when the empty pails are again presented to be replenished from the same source...."¹

Mr Campbell's opinions concerning the ministry as a profession and its rightful existence in the church, can best be ascertained by selecting a few of the many statements he made on the subject, through the columns of the "Christian Baptist".
He /

1. Campbell, Original Christian Baptist, vol i pp 26-28.
Omitted from Burnett's Edition.

He declares: "We have no system of our own, nor of others, to substitute in lieu of the reigning systems. We only aim at substituting the New Testament in lieu of every creed in existence.... We wish to call christians to consider that Jesus Christ has made them kings and priests to God ... We wish, cordially wish, to take the New Testament out of the abuses of the clergy¹ and put it into the hands of the people".² — "After all, why should it be supposed that clergymen are better able to teach us Laics the Bible, than we to teach one another. They are in nineteen instances out of twenty, very ignorant of the Bible, and impudent in their approaches toward good men".³ — "There have been good and pious kings, and there are good and pious clergy. Yet we confess it is much easier to be a good and pious king than a good and pious clergyman. There are in the christian religion, constitutional principles that must be trampled upon, before a man becomes a priest; but none that impede his advancement to the throne as a president or a king. The exceptions to the general spirit and aim of the clergy, are, however, so few, that we may safely ascribe to them, as an order of men, the above views, aims and pursuits".⁴ — "You know that I discard the idea of qualifying a man to teach the christian religion by studying heathen mythology, dead languages and natural religion, ... To train any young man, purposely to make him a teacher of christianity, I am always ready to show, to be ridiculous and absurd; contrary to reason and revelation".⁵ — "It is /

1. Four months before Campbell had made as a special note:
"In our remarks upon the 'Christian Clergy', we never include the Elders or Deacons of a Christian Assembly, or those called the overseers and servants of the Christian Church". (Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 8.)
2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 52.
3. Campbell, Original Christian Baptist, vol i, p. 74.
4. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 19.
5. " " " " " p. 153.

is, then, unreasonable to suppose that the training of a clergyman can, in some respect, contribute to his possessing the grace of God, even in the popular sense of that grace. Indeed, we would cheerfully undertake to prove that the training of a carpenter or a mason is more innocent and less injurious to the human mind, than the training of a clergyman in the popular course, and that there is more in the education of the latter to disqualify him to enter into the kingdom of God, than there is in the education of the former to unfit him for admission into this kingdom. From these considerations the most favourable opinion which we could form of the regular clergy is, that if there be, say for the sake of precision, five thousand of them in the United States, five thousand carpenters, and five thousand doctors; there is an equal number of christian carpenters, of christian doctors, or of any other trade, proportionately according to their aggregate number, as there is of christian clergy. If we err in this opinion, our error is on the side of charity for the clergy.... An objector asks, 'Must our clergy, then, be ignorant and unlettered men?' - 'Is ignorance the mother of devotion?' Ignorance is often the mother of enthusiasms or superstition, either of which is, with many, equivalent to devotion. Many of those unlettered divines who are supposed to speak entirely from the Spirit, for every one knows it is not from a fund of knowledge or from literary attainments which they possess, are indeed as evidently without the grace of God as his holiness the pope or his grace the Duke of York. They speak from the spirit, but it is from the spirit of enthusiasm... But to answer the above objected, I would say. Let us have no clergy at all, learned or unlearned - let us have /

have bishops and deacons, such as Paul appoints, such as he has described"¹... "Oh that the people would read the scriptures and think and act for themselves, and then the people who fear God would learn his statutes, walk in his commandments, enjoy an intelligent mind, a comfortable hope, and would grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Then they would choose from among themselves such as they had proved to be faithful men, and 'apt to teach', for bishops, who would take the oversight not for the sake of filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; not as lords over God's heritage, but examples to the flock".²

Not only does Alexander Campbell deny the rightful existence of a separate ministerial order, but he denounces ministers as "hirelings", making of the church a gainful pursuit. Again we will quote his own words: "And dare you say that money is not the basis of the modern religious establishments ... The modern clergy say they do not preach for money. Very well, let the people pay them none, and they will have as much of their preaching still. Besides, there will be no suspicion of their veracity".³ - "Do you then, and all your lay-brethren, give them nothing to eat or drink for seven years, and I predict many of them will be no longer clergymen, but will transmigrate into more innocent and useful beings".⁴ - "The clergy, who provide for their own houses by making the people, called laymen, support them, and who pursue no honest calling for means of subsistence - have denied the faith and are worse than infidels".⁵

"All/

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, pp. 35, 36.
2. " " " " " p. 31.
3. " " " " " p. 43.
4. " Original Christian Baptist, vol i p. 237.
5. " " " " " vol i, p. 237.

"All that the clergy sell is breath, and that is one of the most common things amongst the living. It is as little expense to a man who can talk, to talk, as it is for the laity to hear. He sells you divinity which is supposed to be a heavenly commodity, and costs no money".¹ — "That any man is to be paid at all for preaching, i.e., making sermons and pronouncing them; or that any man is to be hired for a stipulated sum to preach and pray and expound scripture by the day, month or year, I believe to be a relic of popery".² — "'Will you', said an honest inquirer, 'allow the clergy no salary at all? Will you not allow the poorer class of the clergy a decent little competence?' I replied, 'I have no allowance to make them. Let them have what the Lord has allowed them'. 'How much is that?' said he. 'Just nothing at all'".³ — "A hireling is one who prepares himself for the office of 'a preacher' or 'minister,' as a mechanic learns a trade, and who obtains a license from a congregation, convention, presbytery, pope or diocesan bishop, as a minister and agrees by the day, or sermon month or year, for a stipulated reward ... He intends to make his living in whole, or in part, by making sermons and prayers... But there are other hirelings not so barefaced as these who pretend to be inwardly moved by the Holy Spirit to become ministers; and who spurn at any other qualification than the impressions and suggestions of the Holy Spirit; who are under an awful woe if they do not preach; and yet agree merely in the capacity of supplies, or preachers, to act the preacher for some small consideration. Upon the whole, I do not think we will err very much in making it a general rule that every man who receives money for preaching the gospel or for /

1. Campbell, Original Christian Baptist, vol i. p. 238
2. " " " " vol iii, p. 207
3. " " " " vol i. p. 176.

for sermons, by the day, month or year, is a hireling in the language of truth and soberness - whether he preaches out of his saddlebags, or from the immediate suggestion of the Holy Spirit".¹

Alexander Campbell did not mean by this that the members of a church were in no sense to support the "Bishop" or minister who led the work of that church, and was the 'preacher' for their congregation. However, it must be remembered, that he insisted that this bishop shall be one of the members of the congregation, and not a man who was trained for the 'ministry'. Being a man of some means himself, he never would receive any compensation from the church where he was speaking. Of others he wrote: "I did not censure, nor do I censure, any christian bishop who receives such earthly things as he needs, from those to whose edification and comfort he contributes by his labours And I do know that the popular clergy are not entitled to receive one cent from the people, because they have put themselves into an office which Heaven never gave them".²

Even more severe and unreasonable were his criticisms of missionary enterprises and the missionaries themselves. To the modern christian, it seems almost unbelievable that a man of education and discernment, even a century ago, could have expressed such views. However, we must remember that organised missionary effort was then new to the Protestant world. Dr. Heman Humphrey, in "Revival Sketches", speaking of the Revival of 1800, says: "It cannot be denied that modern missions sprang out of these revivals". The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organised in 1810. While the American Baptist Missionary Union did not receive that name until /

1. Campbell, Original Christian Baptist, vol. iii pp. 218, 219.
2. " Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 73.

until 1846, it was established as early as 1814. In 1819 the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had its beginning. Other denominations organised for the spreading of the gospel, not only through missionary societies, but in Tract and Bible Societies. To all of these Alexander Campbell was most bitterly opposed, as not in accordance with the "ancient order of things".

His chief argument against the missionary endeavour, was that Moses, Joshua and others of God's missionaries to the Jews and to the Gentiles had always been given power to work miracles, and that without this, the plan was presumptuous and doomed to failure. We can best get his true attitude by hearing his own words: "The bible, then gives us no idea of a missionary without the power of working miracles. Miracles and missionaries are inseparably connected in the New Testament... It is a capital mistake to suppose that missionaries in heathen lands, without the power of working miracles, can succeed in establishing the christian religion. If it was necessary for the first missionaries to possess them, it is as necessary for those of our own time who go to pagan lands to possess them.... Is, then, the attempt to convert the heathen by means of modern missionaries, an unauthorised and a hopeless one? It seems to be unauthorised, and, if so, then it is a hopeless one".¹

He tells us why missionary endeavour is hopeless: "Nothing can be done worthy of admiration by the christians of this age, with any reference to the conversion of the pagan nations, until the christians separate themselves from all the worldly combinations in which they are swallowed up... until they form themselves into societies independent of hireling priests and ecclesiastical courts modeled after the forum, the parliament, or /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 15.

or national conventions; until they cast to the moles and to the bats the Platonic speculations, the Pythagorean dreams and Jewish fables they have written in their creeds; until they return to the ancient model delineated in the New Testament; and until they keep the ordinances as delivered to them by the apostles".¹ — "Their churches were not fractured into missionary societies, bible societies, education societies; nor did they dream of organising such in the world... In their church capacity alone they moved They dared not transfer to a missionary society, or bible society, or education society, a cent or a prayer, lest in so doing they rob the church of its glory, and exalt the inventions of men above the wisdom of God. In their church capacity alone they moved".²

Before the paper had continued one year, he urged another objection. Writing in March 1824, he said: "Our objection to the missionary plan originated from the conviction that it is unauthorised in the New Testament; and that, in many instances it is a system of iniquitous speculation and speculation. I feel perfectly able to maintain both the one and the other of these positions. What charity what lawless charity would it require to believe that a Reverend Divine, for instance, coming to the city of Pittsburg some time since, under the character of a missionary, and after preaching four sermons of scholastic divinity to a few woman and children in the remote corners of their city, called on the treasurer of the missionary fund in that place, and actually drew forty dollars for the four sermons 'But', says an apologist, 'it required the good man a week to study it; besides, he gave them prayers into the bargain'. A week to study a sermon! for a graduate at college too /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 16.

2. " " " " " pp. 6, 7.

too!! Why his sermon was not worth a cent! There is not a lawyer in Pittsburg who could not prepare an orthodox sermon in a week and deliver it handsomely too, for ten dollars. From the prayers and sermons of such missionaries may the pagans be long delivered".¹ He contended that the missionary schemes were mere devices for enlarging the various sects, and "finding appointments for their supernumary clergy. "Look again at the sums of money squandered at home and abroad under the pretext of converting the world".² He further inveighs against the missionary cause: "Surely there can be no human employment in which so much ingenuity and fertility of invention are displayed as the business of sponging the public of their money for missionary purposes ... to be added to the mass of plunder, accumulated for the ostensible purpose of 'educating the heathen child', but which is really applied to disseminate the most unreasonable and unnatural sectarian opinions, and to support many a worthless person, who might be better employed in trailing a wheel-barrow through our streets, or in sweeping our chimneys".³

The effects of these teachings on the frontier Baptist churches can well be imagined. And to these denunciations, Alexander Campbell added the argument that he had "long considered the various societies called Missionary, Bible, Sunday-school, and Tract Societies, as great religious engines, fitted and designed for the predominance of the leading sectaries who set them agoing, and ultimately tending to a national creed and a religious establishment".⁴ Spencer, in his History of the Kentucky Baptists, quotes the above from Campbell, and adds: "This /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, pp. 53, 54.

2. " " " " " pp. 71, 72.

3. " Original Christian Baptist, vol i. p. 83.

4. " " " " " vol iii, p. 59.

"This statement is followed by an ingenious and plausible argument, the effects of which could not fail to be potent with people who held in constant remembrance the terrible sufferings they and their fathers had endured, under the dominion of a religious establishment, in Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas. Several of the Baptist ministers who had preached through the grates of Virginia jails were still living and multitudes remembered vividly the toil and sweat it had cost them to raise tobacco for the support of insolent, profligate parsons. Mr Campbell taught them that every dollar they gave to the support of missions was a contribution to the re-enslavement of themselves and their children. The conviction that this teaching might possibly be true, was sufficient, not only to prevent their contributing to the cause of missions, but to cause them to regard as enemies, all who did contribute".¹

Some through their hypercalvinistic ideas of regeneration, and others from their natural meanness of soul, had opposed missions from the beginning; Campbell's teachings were to them a boon. A letter written to him, from Mason county, Kentucky, (dated February 16, 1825) amply illustrates this: "Your paper has well nigh stopped missionary operations in this state. I hope it will destroy associations, state conventions, presbyteries, synods and general assemblies; all of which are as assumed and unscriptural as the infallibility and pontificate of the pope at Rome".² Another letter from Kentucky pictures the regret that must have been in the hearts of many over this critical spirit that had been introduced into their churches: "I regret exceedingly the opposition you have made to the missionary and bible society cause. It has greatly injured your usefulness /

1. Spencer, History of the Kentucky Baptists, p. 587.

2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 114.

usefulness, and put into the hands of your Paido-Baptist opposers a weapon to break the heads of the Baptists. They associate all that are peculiar to Baptists with your peculiar and strange notions on the subject of the bible and a preached gospel, that they may more effectually destroy the effect of your debate with Mr Maccalla. My dear sir, you have begun wrong, if your object is reformation. Never attack the principles which multiplies the number of bibles, or which promotes the preaching of the gospel, or the support of it, if you desire christianity to prevail"...¹

Conditions in the Baptist Church in Kentucky were ripe for the teachings of the "Reformation". After years of bad feeling the Regular and Separate Baptists had, in 1801, agreed to forget their differences and be called the "United Baptists". But not for long were they to enjoy peace. An unfortunate difficulty arose between Jacob Creath - one of the best educated of their ministers, and "probably the first orator in the Kentucky pulpit"² and an influential member of his church, relative to the exchange of a slave. This quarrel between two individuals resulted in a division in the Elkhorn Association, and the formation of the Licking Association which eventually grew into the "Particular Baptists".³

Alexander Campbell visited Kentucky again in 1824, speaking in many of the churches, and talking his "reform" to all the people. He captured the Baptists of Kentucky. Jacob Creath was one of the first converts, and he carried with him
a /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 70.
2. Spencer, History of the Kentucky Baptists, p. 312.
3. Minutes of the Licking Association of Baptists.

a large part of the South Elkhorn Church, of which he was then pastor. John Smith, John T. Johnson, and many others, whose names were to be remembered as leaders of the Campbell forces, came over from the Baptist churches during the next few years. Spencer writes that "despite all efforts to stay the feverish excitement, Campbellism became a raging epidemic".¹ The recent debates had given the Baptists a feeling of victory over the Methodists and Presbyterians; in these contests Campbell had been their champion. The prominence given to the debates and the discussions that followed, had convinced many of the truth of believers baptism, and had brought thousands of accessions to the Baptist Church. Many of the leading Baptist ministers were among the first to adopt the Campbell position. His denunciations of the "hireling ministry" were largely directed against the Presbyterians, and were not particularly displeasing to the Baptists of Kentucky, for the majority of their ministers worked on their farms or at their trades or professions as they tended the churches. The "Reforming Baptists", or "Campbellites", as they came to be called, could readily be ascertained by their constant reference to the "ancient order of things", and their insistence for a "thus saith the Lord" for every practice of the church.

The Baptist opinions of, and objections to, Alexander Campbell's sentiments as expressed in the "Christian Baptist" are voiced by Robert Semple, one of their leading ministers, in his letters to Campbell. He stated: "So far as I can judge by your writings and preaching, you are substantially a Sandemanian or Haldanian. I know you differ from them in some points, but in substance you occupy their ground.... But among the Haldanians /

1. Spencer, History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 598.

Haldanians (judging from writings) a gentle spirit is rarely to be found. Harsh and bitter sarcasms are the weapons with which they fight their opponents If you will bear with me, I will suggest that this seems to be the case with the editor of the Christian Baptist I have taken the Christian Baptist now from its beginning, i.e., I have read them from their first publication, and my opinion has been uniformly the same. - That although sensible and edited with ability, it has been deficient in a very important point, A NEW TESTAMENT SPIRIT.... Your opinions on some other points, are, I think, dangerous, unless you are misunderstood, such as casting off the Old Testament, exploding experimental religion in its common acceptance, denying the existence of gifts in the present day, commonly believed to exist among all spiritual christians, such as preaching, &c. Some other of your opinions, though true, are pushed to extremes such as those upon the use of creeds, confessions &c. &c. Your views of ministerial support, directed against abuses on that head, would be useful; but levelled against all support to ministers (unless by way of alms)is so palpably contrary to scripture and common justice that I persuade myself that there must be some misunderstanding. In short, your views are generally so contrary to those of the Baptists in general, that if a party was to go fully into the practice of your principles, I should say a new sect had sprung up, radically different from the Baptists as they now are".¹

However Alexander Campbell did not desire that his reforming party should be separated from the Baptist church. He was confident that he could change the teachings of the communion, until they would conform to his idea of the "ancient order of things" /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, pp. 227, 228.

things". In 1826, he wrote of them: "And that there is in the views and practices of this large and widely-extended community a great need of reformation, and a restoration of the ancient order of things, few will contradict. In one thing, perhaps they may appear in time to come, proudly singular, and pre-eminently distinguished. Mark it well. Their historian, in the year 1900, may say, 'We are the only people who would tolerate, any person to continue as a Reformer or a Restorer amongst us. While other sects excluded all who would have enlarged their views and exalted their virtues; while every Jerusalem in christendom stoned its own prophets, and exiled its best friends, and compelled them to set up for themselves, we constitute the only exception of this kind in the annals of christianity - nay, in the annals of the world'.¹

But this prophecy was to prove untrue. Instead we find the fulfilment of the suggestion made in the preface to the "Christian Baptist", that he "must either lay his hand on his mouth, or embrace the privilege of walking out of doors". The separation of the "Reformers" from the Baptists, or more correctly, the separation of the Baptists from the "Reformers", was a gradual break, but the year 1830 is generally considered to be the date in which the "Reformers" or "Disciples of Christ" as they came to call themselves, began their history as a separate communion. The Mahoning Association, of which Campbell was a member, was dissolved in that year. This exclusion process was completed in 1832, when the Dover Association of Virginia recommended² to the churches in their connection that they "separate all 'Reformers' from their communion".³ Collins records /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 217.

2. See Article by Barton Stone in Christian Messenger, November 1832 - vol vi, pp. 341,-344.

3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol ii, p. 364.

records that the years from 1829 to 1832 brought the "greatest secession from the Baptist ranks ever known in the history of Kentucky".¹

Alexander Campbell never ceased to regret that the Baptists as a communion, refused to follow him in his reforming principles. In 1832, when the line of demarcation between the two parties, was quite strictly drawn, he stated of their former relationship: "We then regarded and still regard the Baptist denomination as nighest the old platform in the New Testament, of any of the sects into which the christian world has been rent under the influence of the 'man of sin'; but not on account of the doctrinal views of that sect:... but in the general views of the kingdom of grace and of admission into it, in abhorrence of councils, synods and authoritative tribunals, and in many other items, then sacred, but now lost sight of by many of that sect, we cordially united with them not for our benefit, but for theirs. Convinced that the greenest tree in the whole territory of christendom was decayed and decaying, we set ourselves to work at its roots, to dig about it and manure it. But we found it so decayed and decaying, that little hopes of its renovation could be entertained. The keepers of the vineyard found us at work and were determined to interrupt our operations, and so the controversy began.... Many of the reformers have been cast out of the synagogues and have suffered much of the wrath of men, which works not the righteousness which God requires. They have been nicknamed 'Campbellites', though their motto is 'No leader but Christ'; and, as 'Campbellites' they have been persecuted to strange cities".² This high regard for the Baptists /

1. Collins, Historical Sketches of Kentucky, p. 111.

2. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, January 2. 1832.

Baptists, as a communion, Campbell retained until the end of his life. Prof Loos tells us that, in private conversation with himself, in 1866, less than a week before his death, Campbell, with tears in his eyes, expressed that regard and disappointment: "I have always regretted that the Baptists and we had to part; it ought not to have been so. I had hoped that we and that great people could have stood together for the advocacy of apostolic Christianity. They are worthy of such a mission".¹

1. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century, p. 62.

A COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY

<u>BARTON W. STONE</u>	of and	<u>THE CAMPBELLS</u>
1772, born, Port Tobacco, Md.		
1779, moved to Virginia.		
1790, entered Guilford Academy.		1786, Alexander Campbell born, North Ireland.
1793, becomes candidate for the ministry.		
1796, Licensed by Orange Presby- tery.		
1796, goes to Kentucky - preaches at Caneridge and Concord.		
1798, ordained by Transylvania Presbytery.		
1801, visits Cumberland Revival.		
1801, August, Cane Ridge Revival.		
1803, five ministers secede from Kentucky Synod.		
1804, publish "Last Will and Testament" - take name "Christian".		
1805, M'Nemar and Dunlavy join the Shakers.		
1807, Stone immersed.		1807, Thomas Campbell arrives in America.
1809, Craighead publishes "Sermon on Regeneration."		1809, publishes, "Declaration and Address."
		1809, Alexander Campbell arrives from Scotland.
1811, Marshall and Thompson re- turn to the Presbyter- ian Church.		1812, the Campbells are immersed. They are Baptists for life.
		1820, Campbell-Walker Debate.
		1823, A. Campbell goes to Ken- tucky to debate Pres. McCalla on Baptism. Began publication "Christian Baptist".
1824, Barton Stone and Alexander Campbell meet for the first time, and become friends.		
1826, Stone starts "Christian Messenger"		1830, Campbell starts "Millen- nial Harbinger"
1832, "Christians" in Kentucky unite with the "Disciples" or "Refor- mers" - followers of Alexander Campbell.		
1844, Stone dies.		1866, Alexander Campbell dies.

CHAPTER ~~VIII~~ VII.

UNION OF "REFORMERS" AND "CHRISTIANS"

1. Similarities in the two Movements.

It was in 1824, during his second visit to Kentucky, that Alexander Campbell, while at Georgetown,¹ first met Barton Warren Stone; and there formed an acquaintance which was to ripen into a lifelong friendship; and which was to set in motion influences that were to determine the future of the movements then being guided by each of these great leaders.

We are told that Campbell had for some years known of Stone and the "Christians." Just when he^{first} began to follow the history of this religious group, we have no way of knowing. However, the Revival of 1800 was a matter of interest to the English speaking religious world, and numerous articles concerning it appeared in the British journals. Thomas Campbell came to America in 1807: Alexander arrived in 1809. Being Presbyterians and living in a Presbyterian community, they must have heard much discussion of the "Secession" of 1803, and of the "Christians," for this, at that time, was the great heresy in that denomination. The Campbells were scholarly men, and kept abreast of the religious happenings of the day. Craighead's "Sermon on Regeneration" was published in 1809, and was the subject of Presbyterian councils for some time after. Whether or not Alexander Campbell read this, we do not know, but it is a remarkable coincidence that he should become interested in this subject at about the same period. Then, again /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii, pp. 118, 200:
Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 123:
Stone, Autobiography, p. 75.

again, the Stone movement spread rapidly, and very early began to co-operate with the similar movements in the East - especially with that originally known as the "Republican Methodists" under the leadership of James O'Kelley. These "Christians" were preaching and winning many converts in the community where the Campbells lived, and were very early recognized by the Baptist Mahoning Association, of which the Campbells were members.¹

Alexander Campbell first came into the public eye, in 1820, when he met John Walker in public debate. However, this was more or less of local interest, and the published debate was confined in circulation largely to the parties concerned. The Campbell reformation had not gained any considerable influence outside of their immediate community, and had not won many followers there. It is very probable that Campbell's debate with Rev. Macalla of the Presbyterian church, in 1823, would have been the first knowledge Stone gained of him or of his teachings. This discussion caused widespread interest in Kentucky, and would have been known to all who were in any way interested in the church life of that country.

Barton Stone tells us in his "Autobiography," that "Alexander Campbell of Virginia, appeared, and caused a great excitement on the subject of religion in Kentucky and other states. 'Some said, He is a good man; but others said, Nay; for he deceiveth the people.' When he came into Kentucky, I heard him often in public and in private. I was pleased with his manner and matter. I saw no distinctive feature between the doctrine he preached and that which we had preached for years, except on baptism for remission of sins..... I thought then that /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 204.

that he was not sufficiently explicit on the influences of the Spirit, which led many honest Christians to think he denied them."¹

In a letter written to Campbell during 1827, Stone states: "Your talents and learning we have highly respected: your course we have generally approved; your religious views, in many points, accord with our own; and to one point we have hoped we both were directing our efforts, which point is to unite the flock of Christ, scattered in the dark and cloudy day. We have seen you with the arm of a Sampson, and the courage of a David, tearing away the long established foundations of partyism, human authoritative creeds and confessions; we have seen you successfully attacking many false notions and speculations in religion - and against every substitute for the Bible and its simplicity, we have seen you exerting all your mighty powers. Human edifices begin to totter, and their builders to tremble. Every means is tried to prevent ruin, and to crush the man who dares attempt it. We confess our fears that in some of your well intended aims at error you have unintentionally wounded the truth. Not as unconcerned spectators have we looked on the mighty war between you and your opposers; a war in which many of us had been engaged for many years before you entered the field. You have made a diversion in our favour, and to you is turned the attention of creed makers and party spirits, and on you is hurled their ghostly thunder. We enjoy a temporary peace and respite from war where you are known."²

Spencer Clack, one of Campbell's most insistent Baptist opponents - in 1827 - thus compares him with the "Christians", of whom he equally disapproves: "The creed question has long been /

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 76.

2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 378.

been agitated in Kentucky - the subject has been worn thread bare by Barton W. Stone, and his disciples, the Arians of the West. They preached and prayed against creeds and confessions; taught the all sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith and conduct; attempted the establishment of churches according to the ancient order of things. Mr Stone, Kincade and others, manifested the real grounds of their hostility to creeds; they did not believe the sentiments contained in them."¹

Again, emphasizing the agreements of the two movements, Stone, in August 1831, writes: "The Reformed Baptists have received the doctrine taught by us many years ago. For nearly thirty years we have taught that Sectarianism was anti-christian, and that all Christians should be united in the one body of Christ - the same they teach. We then and ever since, have taught that authoritative creeds and confessions were the strong props of sectarianism, and should be given to the moles and the bats - they teach the same. We have from that time preached the gospel to every creature to whom we had access, and urged them to believe and obey it - that its own evidence was sufficient to produce faith in all that heard it, that the unrenewed sinner must, and could believe it unto justification and salvation - and that through faith the Holy Spirit of promise, and every other promise of the New Covenant, were given. They proclaim the same doctrine. Many years ago some of us preached baptism as a means, in connection with faith and repentance, for the remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Spirit - they preach the same, and extend it farther than we have done. We rejected all names, but Christian - they acknowledge /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. ii. p. 28. Copied from the Baptist Recorder).

acknowledge it most proper, but seem to prefer another. We acknowledge a difference of opinion from them on some points."¹

Alexander Campbell denies this similarity of purpose, and objects to what he calls a "squinting at some sort of precedency or priority in the claims" which Stone had made for the sameness of purpose in the two movements. He protests: "I am, as at present advised, far from thinking that the present advocates of reformation are only pleading, or at all pleading, for what was plead in Kentucky thirty years ago, after the dissolution of the Springfield Presbytery. If such be the conceptions of brother Stone, I am greatly mistaken. That he, with others, did at that time oppose authoritative creeds, and some articles in them as terms of communion, and some other abuses, we are not uninformed....we cannot think that the cause we plead was plead either by him or any one else twenty years ago. Many persons both in Europe and America, have inveighed against sects, creeds, confessions, councils, and human dogmas, during the last two centuries, and some even before Luther's time: but what have these to do with the present reformation? I trust our brother Editor will not think that we are merely disputing his claims to priority, as it is not assumed by us that he has set up such a claim; but only that in appearance it squints that way: but that he will consider us as endeavouring to prevent the confounding of the ancient gospel and ancient order of things with the anti-creed, or anti-council, or anti-sectarian cause. Sorry would I be to think that any would be so indiscriminating as to identify the principles of this reformation with the principles of any other reformation preached /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. p. 180. See also Christian Messenger, vol. iv. p. 200.

preached since Luther was born Our eagle-eyed opponents plainly see the difference between the radical and differential attributes of this reformation, which they ignorantly call a deformation, and any other cause, however unpopular, plead in the land. 'The Christians' in some places, nay, in many places, are quite respectable in the eyes of those who condemn 'the disciples' as unfit for good society."¹

Robert Richardson, Campbell's friend and co-labourer, in comparing the two movements, thus writes of the "Christians": "The leading purposes of the entire movement were not to establish any peculiar or distinctive doctrines, but to assert for individuals and churches Christian liberty; to escape the thralldom of human creeds; to make the Bible the only guide; to secure the right of private judgment; and to follow the simplicity of the primitive Christians. While the features of this organization were thus, in a good measure, similar to those of the Reformation in which Mr Campbell was engaged, there were some characteristic differences. With the former, the idea of uniting all men under Christ was predominant; with the latter, the desire of an exact conformity to the primitive faith and practice..... Hence the former engaged in preaching - the latter in teaching. The revivalist machinery of protracted meetings, warm exhortation, personal entreaty, earnest prayers for conversion and union, accompanied by a belief in special spiritual operations and the use of the mourner's seat, existed with the one, while, with the other, the matters of chief interest were the disentanglement of the Christian faith from modern corruptions of it and the recovery of the gospel ordinances and ancient order of things. There had been an almost entire neglect of evangelization on the part of the few churches which /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. pp. 242, 243: Millennial Harbinger, Sept. 5, 1831.

which were originally connected with Mr Campbell in his reformatory efforts. They had not a single itinerant preacher, and, although they made great progress in biblical knowledge, they gained comparatively few converts. The churches of the Christian Connection, on the other hand, less inimical to speculative theories, granting membership to the unimmersed and free communion to all, and imperfectly acquainted with the order, discipline and institutions of the churches, made, through an efficient itineracy, large accessions everywhere, and increased with surprising rapidity. They were characterized by a simplicity of belief and manners and a liberality of spirit highly captivating, and possessed, in general, a striking and praiseworthy readiness to receive additional light from the Bible. They gained over, consequently, from the religious community many of the pious and peace-loving who groaned under the evils of sectarianism, while the earnest exhortations of zealous preachers and their direct personal appeals to sinners obtained large accessions from the world."¹

2. Christian influence leads to appointment of Walter Scott.

With this mutual knowledge of the position of the other, it was only natural that there should also be a mutual interest in the progress of the two movements. They agreed in their desire that party lines be abolished, that human names should not be worn by christians, and that human authoritative creeds should be discarded. They were also of one mind in the opinion that faith preceded regeneration; this, perhaps more than any other tenet, gave them a common bond of sympathy, for, on that point, the /

1. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol ii. pp. 199, 200.

the Presbyterians and the Baptists gave them the most bitter opposition.

Because of this fellow feeling, the "Christian" preachers on the Western Reserve were much interested in the proceedings of the Mahoning Association of Baptists, which had largely received the teachings of Alexander Campbell, and to which he belonged. The Mahoning Association, in turn, had been impressed with the success of the "Christians" in winning converts in that community, while, they, as Richardson states, "having imbibed the spirit of the movement directed by Mr Campbell, and being much occupied with their own improvement in Scripture knowledge and with questions of church order.... had neglected for some time to make proper evangelizing efforts, and were receiving, consequently, very few additions." John Secrest, one of the "Christian" preachers, was very successful in the Mahoning neighbourhood. In Belmont and Guernsey counties, in Ohio, he was winning hundreds of new people. He reported: "It is no uncommon thing for thirty or forty to profess faith in the Son of God at one meeting, and numbers are baptized in a day. I baptized as many as sixty-five at one meeting."¹

Alexander Campbell was impressed with this success. In 1827, he wrote in the "Christian Baptist": "Elder John Secrest told me, at the meeting of the Mahoning association, Ohio, on the 27th ult. that he had immersed three hundred persons within the last three months..... He thinks that a thousand persons have been immersed this season in the bounds of his labours, by himself and those labouring with him. Immense have been the crowds attending, and great the excitement produced by the simple proclamation of the gospel..."² Early in the next year, he /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol ii. p. 120.

2. Stone, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition p. 381.

See also Christian Messenger vol. ii. p. 22.

he tells us that in a letter written on New Years Day, Secrest informed him that "during the last six months of the year (1827) he had, with his own hands, immersed five hundred and thirty persons."¹ Joseph Gaston, another of the "Christian" preachers, was also very successful in winning converts in that community. Impressed with their message and with their success, the Mahoning Association invited these two ministers to attend their meeting in August, 1827. It was largely their influence that led to the appointment, at that meeting, of Walter Scott as the evangelist for the Mahoning Association of Baptists.²

Scott was a young Scotch Presbyterian³ when he arrived in America in 1818. He was born in Dumfriesshire in 1796, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh.⁴ In Pittsburg, soon after his arrival in America, and through the influence of one of his fellow countrymen, he had been immersed and had become connected with the Haldane church there.⁵ Through this group he had made the acquaintance of the Campbells, and had come to know some of the "Christian" preachers. He quickly imbibed somewhat of the spirit of the Christians⁶ and became convinced of "the ineffectiveness of the course heretofore pursued by the Haldanean and other churches in the Reformation."⁷ Walter Scott was a great evangelist. His work among the churches of the Mahoning Association was very successful, and added /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 420.
See also Stone Christian Messenger, vol. ii. p. 95.
2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 183.
Moore's statement that "it was Walter Scott who brought into the movement the emphatic evangelistic element" (See Hist. of Dis. p. 189), is correct only in so far as it refers to the "Reformers" alone. However, the "Reformers" received their evangelistic example and inspiration from the "Christians."
3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. i, p. 502.
4. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century, p. 72.
5. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. i, pp. 502-5.
6. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 206.
7. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 206.

added many to the cause of the "Reformation." His evangelistic zeal supplied the elements that had been lacking in the Campbells.¹

This co-operation of the Mahoning Association in the appointment and support of Walter Scott as their evangelist, was a break down in one of the fundamental principles of Alexander Campbell's position. He had taught - although he himself belonged to an Association - that they were without divine warrant in the New Testament, and, therefore, should not be.² He had said there should be no religious group apart from the local church.³ This doctrine of the "Autonomy of the local congregation" he had pushed to the extreme. He had avowed that the local church "dare not transfer to a missionary society, or bible society, or education society, a cent or a prayer, lest in so doing they should rob the church of its glory."⁴ He had opposed all co-operative christian work, even to the distributing of Bibles through an organization. He had written:- "Let every Church of Christ, then, if it can only disseminate twenty bibles or twenty testaments in one year, do this much. Then it will know into what channel its bounty flows; it will need no recording secretary, no president, no managers of its bounty."⁵

Soon after the appointment of Walter Scott - in a letter dated October 14, 1827 - one of the "Christian" preachers kindly calls Campbell's attention to the inconsistency between his former teachings and the agreement of the Mahoning Association to support an evangelist. He stated that no man under heaven had said more against associations than Campbell, and remarked: "Your association is an unscriptural institution, and how can an unscriptural association act according to the gospel?"⁶

But /

1. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century, p. 75.
2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 29.
3. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 7.
4. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 7.
5. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 34.
6. The Christians had their associations in all parts of the country, and co-operated through them in their work.

But to be serious, I see as great an incongruity between your messenger and the messengers of the churches mentioned in the New Testament, as you see between the present order of preachers and a New Testament bishop."¹ Campbell, in answer, relaxes his former position, by stating that while associations have no warrant "to decide on any matters of conscience, or to do any act or deed interfering with, or in opposition to, the perfect independence of each individual congregation..."; yet, "if they think we can do any more good by co-operation in any public measure than they could in their individual capacity, I know of no law or rule of the Great King prohibiting such meetings or such attempts to do good, or to enjoy good."²

3. Differences in the two Movements.

Thus, we have the direct contact of two movements pleading for the union of all christians, but each taking a different path - paths that were to cross and recross until they finally merged into one great religious communion. We have in Barton Warren Stone and in Alexander Campbell, examples of the two opposite theories for uniting the Church of Christ. The one would forget the sectarian barriers, and weld the christian world into a working group; the other would ruthlessly sweep aside the experience of eighteen centuries of christian history, and would allow in this united church³ nothing for which there could /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 418.

2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 419.

3. Campbell's position is clearly set forth: "I labour to see sectarianism abolished, and all Christians of every name united upon the One foundation on which the Apostolic church was founded. To bring Baptists and Païdo-Baptists to this is my supreme aim." (Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 217). He explains how this can be accomplished: "There is one vast difference one essential and all-important difference betwixt the Baptists and Païdo-Baptists views and societies..... The Baptist system is capable of being reformed or brought back again to the constitution of the kingdom of heaven; the Païdo-Baptist cannot. It must be destroyed. The one system carries in its bosom the means of its purification; the other, the first that must consume it /

could not be found a "Thus saith the Lord." One was pleading for christian reunion; the other for the restoration of the primitive church.

The differences in the teachings of the two parties were great. Not in all things did they agree; and many of their positions were entirely contradictory. Alexander Campbell began the publication of the "Christian Baptist" in 1823, and continued his journalistic labours until the end of his life. Barton Stone began the editing of the "Christian Messenger" in 1826, and continued it until his death in 1844. Through these monthly periodicals, the "Reformers" and the "Christians" gained a knowledge of the teachings of the other party; through their writings, these leaders discussed their various views.

1. The contrast between the two parties began in the attitude of each leader toward his opponents. Campbell was a critic and a fighter, although, as stated by Moore, he "became less belligerent as he grew older."¹ Controversy was his forte. He had said that he was "fully persuaded that a week's debating is worth a year's preaching, such as we generally have, for the purpose of disseminating truth and putting error out of countenance."²

Stone, on the other hand, was very charitable³ toward all christians whom he thought sincere in their beliefs and lives. He believed that union between the various parties would never be brought about by creating antagonisms; but only by emphasizing the agreements rather than the differences. He was opposed to public debates,⁴ and persisted in his refusal to /

it. The foundation of the former needs but to have the rubbish cleared away; the foundation of the latter must be totally razed. The constitution of the one is essentially of Divine construction; the construction of the other is altogether human. (Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, pp. 94, 95.)

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, Preface, p. 7.
2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii., p. 49.
3. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, Oct. 4, 1830.
4. See, Stone, Letter to Moreland, 4.

to engage in such discussions. He wrote: "Such debates tend to strife, deaden piety, destroy the spirit of prayer, puff up the vain mind."¹ — "Such meetings may be profitable, if rightly conducted. Most commonly, more evil than good grows out of them. Victory, not the love of truth, is too commonly the dominant principle; and the audience is enlisted on one side or other of the litigants, and very frequently imbibe their spirit; by which the peace of the whole neighbourhood is disturbed."²

2. There was a difference also in the theory of biblical inspiration. Campbell taught that the "bible was dictated from heaven,"³ — that "there is not a spiritual idea in the whole human race that is not drawn from the Bible."⁴ Speaking of Locke, whose philosophy he accepted, he remarked, "if there be no innate ideas as these philosophers teach, then the bible is proved, from the principles of reason, and from the history of the world, to be what it purports, a volume indited by the Spirit of the invisible God."⁵ Thus, the Bible is a finished revelation, and we are given therein, a picture of the order and worship of the church, from which we must not depart. "With us, Revelation has nothing to do with opinions, or abstract reasonings; for it is founded wholly and entirely upon facts.. There is not one abstract opinion, not one speculative view, asserted or communicated in the Old Testament or New."⁶

Stone believed that the Bible was divine — that it revealed the truth of God. He always insisted that "if a doctrine be revealed, however mysterious it may be,"⁷ he would humbly /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. xii, p. 317.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iii. p. 119.
3. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 82.
4. Campbell, The Christian System, p. 17.
5. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 82.
6. Campbell — quoted by Moore, p. 334.
7. Stone, Address to Christian Churches 1814, p. 12.
Christian Messenger, vol. ii, p. 12.

humbly receive it. But he seems to be believed with Paterson Smyth, that while all of the Bible was inspired by God, not all of it needed to be revealed.¹ The writers used their own observation and knowledge for historical facts easily ascertained. This we can rightfully infer from a very significant remark. Two brethren, evidently much concerned lest they should introduce something into the church that was not according to the "ancient order of things", had asked if it was proper to have a record of the transactions of a church, and the names of its members. Stone replied: "That a record was made of the names of church members at Jerusalem, appears plausible from this fact, that Luke wrote his history some time after the constitution of that church, and stated that it at first consisted of 120 names (not persons). This information, it appears, he got from adverting to the records of that church. He counted the names and found them to be 120. I have seen nothing in the scriptures forbidding us to do the same; nor have I heard one argument from the scriptures, advanced against the practice."²

3. Regarding the person and work of Christ, Campbell was orthodox, although he refused to use the terminology of the creeds. He insisted that scriptural ideas be expressed in bible terms. He held that "there was no Jesus, no Messiah, no Christ, no Son of God, no Only Begotten, before the reign of Augustus Ceasar. The relation that was before the Christian era was that of God, and the 'word of God'... a relation perfectly intimate, equal and glorious."³ His doctrine of the Atonement was that received by the Calvinists—the theory of satisfaction and reconciliation. Campbell wrote /

1. Paterson Smyth, How God inspired the Bible, London 1910, p. 105.

2. For opinions on infallibility, see p. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iv. p. 158.
Stone God did not do all Bible says he did - writers opinion, Killing people, etc.

Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. ii. p. 12; iii. p. 162; vol. vii, p. 206.

3. Campbell, Christian Baptist. Burnett Edition. p. 334.

wrote "So far as it honours law and justice, it reconciles God to forgive; and so far as it displays to the offender love and mercy, it reconciles him to his offended Sovereign... It propitiates God and reconciles man. God's 'anger is turned away;' (not a turbulent passion, not an implacable wrath) but 'that moral sentiment of justice,' which demands the punishment of violated law, is pacified and well pleased; and man's hatred and animosity against God is subdued, overcome, and destroyed in and by the same sacrifice."¹

Stone was, on these two doctrines, considered to be heterodox. He believed in the pre-existence of the soul of Jesus; and refused to say that He existed with God from eternity - but only that "he existed before the creation of the worlds, angels, men and things."² Regarding the Atonement, he held the "moral influence theory." He did not think that God needed to be placated, but that he was always willing to receive the penitent sinner. The display of the love of God, in giving his Son to die for the world, inspired men with a reciprocal love for God, and induced them to leave their sinful ways. He taught, "that the Messiah actually suffered for sinners, and for the purpose of saving them from sin and suffering. But I do not admit that the sufferings of Christ were the effects of divine anger or avenging justice against him as our substitute. Nor do I admit that his sufferings were designed to appease the anger of God towards sinners, nor to effect any change of feeling in the divine mind. I view them as means for effecting a change in us - not in God."³

4. Another point of difference between the position of Campbell and that of Stone, was on the matter of name. Campbell /

1. Campbell, The Christian System, p. 41.

2. Stone, Letters to James Blythe, p. 49.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol iv. p. 5.

Campbell favoured the name "Disciple"; Stone, from a very early period in the movement, would accept no name but "Christian."

Alexander Campbell, in 1831, writes in the Harbinger: "I have contended for the name Christian before I heard the appropriation of it in the West."¹ He then takes a position quite contradictory to his oft-stated objection to party names because they were divisive: "As to the name Christian, I have always since I knew anything of Christianity, given it the approbation of my heart. It is a name which we can legitimately assume. But unfortunately some have assumed it as a name only. Suppose, for example, that those reforming Baptists who contend for the ancient gospel and the ancient order of things, should assume to be called Christians, how would they be distinguished from those who call themselves Christians, who neither immerse for the remission of sins, show forth the Lord's death weekly, nor keep the institutions, manners, and customs of those called 'Christians first at Antioch?'.... But if any one shall suppose that the term 'Christian' denotes a Unitarian, or Trinitarian in its appropriated sense, we shall choose the older name 'disciple,' and recommend to all the brotherhood to be called not 'Christians', but 'the disciples of Christ.'"²

Barton Stone quite rightfully resents this attitude. He states "This is to me the most extraordinary sentiment I ever read from the pen of Mr. C. From conviction of right he has taken the name Christian. - Yet contrary to his conviction he will throw off that name, should any one (friend or foe) even suppose it denotes a Unitarian or Trinitarian in its appropriated sense?"³ "This they have done in order to be distinguished /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, Dec. 5, 1831.

2. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, Aug. 2, 1830.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iv. p. 273.

Also vol. v. p. 181.

distinguished from us. Hence it is concluded that they wish to be a party distinguished from us, and have therefore assumed this name as a party name. This at once bars us from union in the same body, and we cannot but assume that it was assumed for this purpose, by some. We should rejoice to believe the contrary."¹

Barton Stone accepted the translation that Dr. Doddridge made of Acts 11: 26 - "And the disciples were, by divine appointment first named Christians at Antioch."² Doddridge taught that "the use of the word Chrematisai (named) implies that it was done by a divine direction." Stone mentions all of the verses in the New Testament where this word is used, and shows that they can all be taken in the sense of warned or spoken by God. Among other arguments, he brings forth the idea that the church is the bride of Christ, and the bride always wears the name of her husband. He concludes: "It is believed there are none who deny that Christian is the most appropriate name for the followers of Christ, though many prefer others, for various reasons. It is the name which must and will supersede all other denominations, and be a means of uniting the scattered flock."³

5. In the attitude of each of these religious groups, and particularly of their leaders, toward the existence of a ministry, there was a vast difference; although, due to the circumstances of the time, these differences were not so extremely emphasized as they would have been under other conditions.

Campbell repudiated the idea of the ministry as a life calling /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. p. 181.

2. Thomas Campbell believed with Stone it was "given by divine authority and ought to be the distinctive title of every follower of Jesus." Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 371.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. p. 184.

calling apart any profession or trade. He condemned the practice of theological training. He denounced as "hirelings" those men who ministered to the church, and received their living solely from that ministration. Alexander Campbell taught that each "voluntary association of any number of disciples of Christ, met in any one place to attend to the duties and privileges of a church," should call "any one of their own number" as their "bishop."¹ His qualifications should be decided by those amongst whom he would labour, and by them alone.² He must not be asked to come from another church to serve them, but ^{must} be an actual resident member of that congregation. They should select from among their own number, that one best qualified intellectually and spiritually. He must be elected by the people, and from among the "oldest converts in the community." Campbell states that "there is no greater incongruity than to see a stripling or a young man of twenty to thirty, styled elder; and if the name does not suit his years, it is a very strong reason in favour of the conclusion that the office of a bishop does not."³ Each congregation must have its own bishop, chosen from among its own members, even though they be but twenty in number. He was absolutely opposed to the custom, common in pioneer countries, of having one pastor for two congregations, as Barton Stone had ministered to the churches at Cane Ridge and Concord. He protests against this practice: "But they never read in the New Testament of a bishop of two, three or four congregations.... They might have read of a plurality of bishops in one congregation, but never of a plurality of congregations under one bishop /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 21.
2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 260.
3. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 243.

bishop."¹ Regarding ordination, he taught that "if ever there was an act peculiarly so called, it consisted in the imposition of the hands of the seniors or elders of the congregation... But this eldership was not a collection of elders from different congregations assembled; but those of one congregation... Everything essential to appointment, call, or ordination was vested in the minds of the brethren. Their desires, however expressed, gave the office to the candidate, however he was announced... The imposition of hands, when first instituted among the Jews, was practised by the laity.... Any congregation has a right to call, appoint, or ordain any person to any office laid down in the volume, and to do all the acts and deeds thereto appertaining, without calling to their aid the assistance of any foreign deacon, bishop or officer."² Thus he rejects anything like ordination by a Presbytery; or, even the existence of a theologically trained group of church leaders as is common with the Disciples and other religious bodies to-day. The "bishop" was not "hired" to serve the church - that is, he did not agree, for any set sum, to give them his services. However, Campbell writes that "the idea of remuneration for his services was attached to the office from its first institution;³ and that the bishop is "justly entitled to the supply of his wants, whether of food, raiment, or money, or all..... Those christians deserve not the name, who would suffer such a bishop to be in need of any necessary good thing which they had in their power to bestow."⁴

Barton Stone, trained to, and thoroughly in sympathy with the /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 242.
2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, pp. 260, 261.
3. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 232.
4. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 233.

the Presbyterian idea of the ministry, considered these ideas nothing less than anarchy. In 1830, he writes to an inquirer who is convinced that the Campbell doctrine is correct: "You profess to be governed entirely by the New Testament, rejecting everything not found there as an article of faith or practice..... Your church has elected a private person from among yourselves to be your Bishop, to administer to you the word and ordinances of the kingdom. This election by vote of the church, you consider to be the true ordination of a bishop, and valid to all intents and purposes. From this sentiment I am obliged to dissent, when directed by the New Testament, for the following reasons. To me it is evident that the great head of the church ordained his twelve apostles to the work of the ministry and of the gospel... It will not be disputed that the Lord gave authority to the apostles to ordain others to the ministry of the gospel; because they actually did it... Nor can it be disputed, that those ordained by the apostles had divine authority to ordain others to the same ministry. Tit. 1: 5.... The order established by the head of the church is here plainly described. This is the ancient order. This is the order of apostolic times. This is the order taught in the New Testament, besides which there is no other with regard to the ministry mentioned in that book. I ask my brother from what part of that book has he concluded that the church, without the elders or bishops, has the right of authority to ordain bishops or elders? I have never yet seen it, nor can I find any person that is able to shew it. You may say that the chain of the succession of Bishops and elders has been broken; or else we must draw the authority from the corrupt church of Rome. This, my /

my dear brother, I view as an irrelevant cavil. What if we derive our authority from the corrupt church of Rome? Is it therefore null and void? What if the church has long been in the wilderness, or in Babylon? Does this prove that she is therefore not the church? Have indeed the gates of hell prevailed against her, so that she has been annihilated? But you are convinced she is in error, and a reformation is needed; she must occupy the ancient order. Granted. What is that order? It is as I have shewn that the elders and bishops ordain other elders and bishops by the imposition of their hands. Can you expect that the church will ever be reformed according to the ancient order, by instituting a new order, unknown in the New Testament? You again may say, what is the use of elders now laying their hands on a person to be ordained an elder or bishop? They can confer no spiritual gift. Some even ridicule the idea, and contemptuously spurn the practice; and I am sorry to say that men, who plead for New Testament order, are most forward in denouncing the practice... God has ordained it, and if obeyed in faith, he will bless the humble souls thus consecrated as offered to him by this act....¹ You take it for truth incontrovertible, that all authority is vested in the church. If by this you mean the church without the apostles, elders, bishops and deacons, you certainly err. For you cannot find in the New Testament one instance of the church having authority to ordain elders or bishops or deacons, or to administer baptism or the supper. You will find that the ministry existed before the church, that the church is built upon the Apostles, Jesus being the chief corner stone - that the ministry are the builders of the temple of God, or the church of God on earth. It is granted that the church may /

1. For fuller discussion of "Laying on of Hands", see Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. pp. 273 - 275.

may elect, but not ordain, as in the case of the seven. Acts 6."¹ This argument from Apostolic succession was thus quite opposite from Campbell's theory of no ministry, but every man a preacher and a priest of God.

Stone differed from Campbell just as radically on the matter of theological training and ministerial support. Barton Stone was educated as a Presbyterian minister, and their standards were the highest of any religious group in America. It was partly because of the refusal of the General Assembly to lower the standard, that the break had come which led to the formation of the Cumberland Presbyterian church. Stone believed that no church would grow without efficient teachers. He wrote: "No church can grow in numbers, when the unconverted will not attend its meetings."² It is true that the "Christians" did not insist on an educated ministry, and they had many - often the most successful - ministers who were untrained men. However they were not opposed to educating men for the work of the church.

Again, Stone differed from Campbell, in that he believed that the ministry should be supported by the church. It is true that their ministers did work at their trades and farms while they preached; but the cause was new, and it was a pioneer country. Their evangelists ~~went~~ often ^{went} forth without any assurance of salary or transportation; and with the Methodist faith that they were called of God, they trusted him to provide.³ But this was not the ideal taught by Stone. He urged his people:- "It would be well for us to hear, 'Let him that ministereth wait on his ministry.'⁴ - "Those who seek /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vi. pp. 251-253.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vi. p. 280.
3. Rogers, Samuel, pp. 23, 69.
4. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vi. p. 124.

seek after fame, honour and wealth, enter not with us into the ministry of the gospel. We cannot hold out these inducements, nor would we, were we able. If one among us preaches for these, may his mouth be stopped, and himself disgraced. We wish none such among us. Yet ~~be~~ believe that the churches should support or supply the wants of their preachers... But if they neglect their duty, the preacher should not neglect his. Our ministrations would be more blessed to the people, were we enabled to live without such incessant care and labour on our farms."¹ — "The preachers, I say, are oppressed. They, in common with their neighbours, must labour to support themselves and families; and are commonly blessed with more company than others - this not only calls them from their necessary labours, but also helps to consume their earnings. If they attend to the many calls of the churches, they must deprive themselves and families of a necessary support - if they do not attend they are unmercifully censured. Who, by hard work through the week, can be prepared to address a people profitably on the Lord's Day. What time is allowed such a preacher to study the scriptures? His spirits are depressed - his discourses are unedifying, he becomes unpopular, and sinks from usefulness. In this state of things the churches decline, and the spirit of truth flags. What must be done?

"I will give advice:- Let every church seriously consider the situation in which we are. Let them meet together in their respective places of worship, and give an answer to the following queries:

"1. Ought not those who preach the gospel, to live of the gospel?

"2. /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iii. p. 133 - April, 1829.

"2. Can we expect that they can thus live of the gospel unless we who profess the gospel administer to their support?.... I know many object against subscribing for the support of a preacher. They say they are willing to give, but they wish not their right hand should know what their left hand does. Those people, most generally keep their offerings so secret, ✓ that they are never known in earth or in heaven. No man should leave the support of his family upon such uncertainties. If the churches do not act with promptness on this subject, it must fail of success. While thousands of dollars are lavished in support of sectarianism, shall the friends of peace and union, be unwilling to give a few mites to aid in spreading the good cause? Forbid it, Heaven!"¹

6. Strange as it may seem, it was not any of the conflicting opinions on these foundational doctrines of the christian faith, that should be the greatest bar between the two peoples. The bone of contention was the teaching of baptism for the remission of sins.

This had come to be one of the chief tenets of Alexander Campbell. He had inferred the doctrine during the debate with Walker, in 1820. In 1823, during his debate with Mr Maccalla, he had further developed these views, contending that "it was a divine institution designed for putting the legitimate subject of it in actual possession of the remission of his sins - That to every believing subject it did formally, and in fact, convey to him the forgiveness of sins."² Five years later, in speaking of this debate, he remarked: "It was with much hesitation I presented this view of the subject at that time, because of its perfect novelty. I was then assured /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v., pp. 257, 258.

2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 401.

assured of its truth, and I think, presented sufficient evidence of its certainty. But having thought still more closely on the subject, and having been necessarily called to consider it more fully as an essential part of christian religion, I am still better prepared to develop its import, and to establish its utility and value in the christian religion. I beg leave to call the attention of the reader to it under the idea of the BATH OF REGENERATION."¹

Through the pages of the "Christian Baptist," he further develops his position, which Philip Schaff classified as "baptismal regeneration."² He taught that it is "plainly affirmed in the New Testament that God forgives men's sins in the act of immersion... that God forgives sins for the name's sake of his Son, or when the name of Jesus Christ is named upon us in immersion:- that in, and by, the act of immersion, so soon as our bodies are put under water, at that very instant our former, or 'old sins' are all washed away, provided only that we are true believers..... I say it is quite sufficient to shew that the forgiveness of sins and christian immersion were, in their first proclamations by the holy apostles inseparably connected together. Peter, to whom was committed the keys, opened the kingdom of heaven in this manner, and made repentance, or reformation, and immersion, equally necessary to forgiveness..... I am bold, therefore, to affirm, that every one of them who, in the belief of what the apostle spoke, was immersed, did, in the very instant in which he was put under the water, receive the forgiveness of his sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit."³... He continues: "Why is the Holy Spirit promised as consequent upon immersion? I answer, 1st. /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 401.
2. Schaff, History of the Christian Church, vol. ii. p. 466.
3. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, pp. 416, 417.

1st. Because forgiveness is through immersion; and because, in the 2nd place the spirit of holiness cannot reside in any heart where sin is not absolved. This is an invariable law in the moral empire, over which the Lord Jesus reigns."¹

Stone received the doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins but he refused to allow it to be pushed to its logical conclusion. Before the revival, while still a Presbyterian minister, he had been convinced by Robert Marshall that immersion was the only baptism taught in the New Testament. From that time he ceased to practice sprinkling.² The excitement of the revival had directed his mind to other subjects, particularly the relationship between faith and regeneration, which view, adopted, had led to the Secession, and the beginning of the "Christian Church" as a separate movement. About 1806, the subject of baptism had arisen among the "Christians". Stone, ~~and~~ others, were immersed; but they decided that it should be a matter of forbearance, ^{that} and they should make no discriminations between the immersed and the unimmersed. Some, with Stone, "began to conclude that it was ordained for the remission of sins", and ought to be administered in the name of Jesus to all believing penitents. He tells us that at about this time, at a great meeting at Concord, he advocated baptism for the remission of sins.³ Elder Samuel Rogers, in his own way, tells of a meeting at Millersburg, Kentucky, in 1821: "The interest was very great, and the audience very large. Many had professed religion, and many more, who were at the mourners' bench, refused to be comforted. After labouring with the mourners until a late hour of the night, without being able to comfort them, Brother Stone arose and thus addressed /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 439.

2. Stone, Autobiography, p. 60.

3. Samuel Rogers, Autobiography, p. 61.

addressed the audience: 'Brethren, something must be wrong: we have been labouring with these mourners earnestly, and they are deeply penitent; why have they not found relief? We all know God is willing to pardon them, and certainly they are anxious to receive it. The cause must be that we do not preach as the Apostles did. On the day of Pentecost, those who "were pierced to the heart" were promptly told what to do for the remission of sins. And "they gladly received the word, and were baptized; and the same day about three thousand were added unto them.' He then quoted the commission: 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' When Brother Stone sat down, we were all completely confounded; and, for my part, though I said nothing, I thought our dear old brother was beside himself. The speech was a perfect damper on the meeting; the people knew not what to make of it. On a few other occasions, Brother Stone repeated about the same language, with the same effect. At length, he concluded that the people were by no means prepared for this doctrine, and gave it up."¹

Stone did not give up the doctrine, but he always refused to stress opinions that might cause division among his people. Comparing his position with that of Campbell and the "Reformers," he said: "To the subject of baptism they appear to attach more importance than some of us are willing to admit; yet baptism, in order to ^{the} remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit, when well guarded, has long been advocated by some of us as the truth."² "They teach that baptism is the ONLY medium or action in which God, under the New Testament, remits the sin of a believer, Jew or Gentile - I believe that it is the instituted medium under the New Testament in which God./

1. Elder Samuel Rogers. *Autobiography*, p. 56.
See also Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, vol. ii. p. 389.
2. Stone, *Christian Messenger*, vol. iv. pp. 200, 201.

God remits the sins of a believer of any nation.... Had Brother C. omitted the word ONLY, I should have agreed with him in opinion..... The case of Cornelius, with other arguments, has convinced me that though God instituted Baptism as the ordinary means of obtaining salvation and remission of sin; yet he has not bound himself not to bestow these favours upon any, out of this medium."¹ In discussing the case of Cornelius, Stone states that he has no doubt, but that had he died before hearing Peter, he would have been received into heaven, and that "baptism is not a sine qua non with regard to future happiness, and consequently of forgiveness. We are not disposed to say that God cannot forgive without baptism - this we leave with him, who will do right; but we are bound to declare his plainly revealed plan, that he will certainly save every penitent believer, who shall be baptized in the name of Jesus."².... - "I entertain no doubt, but that, in coming years, immersion, on the profession of faith, will universally obtain in the church of Christ on earth."³

Campbell replied to Stone's views: "The Editor of the Christian Messenger has, it seems, contended for the theory of immersion for the remission of sins, when 'well guarded' - guarded, I hope, he means by faith in the subject. To contend for it in theory, and give it up in practice, is only to treat the authority of the Lord with contempt."⁴

However, Stone insisted that we leave room for mercy to those who do not understand every command of God, but who have been forgiven and have received the spirit of God. Even the Apostles did not understand everything God would have them do, although the command was quite plain: so strong were their preconceived opinions, that for ten years they did not realize /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. pp. 106, 107.
Cf. Schaff, History. Ch. Chap. II., pp. 466, 467.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vii. p. 17.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iv. p. 201.
4. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, August 2, 1830.

realize that they were commanded to preach the gospel to the Gentiles.¹ Many pious people do not understand the command to be immersed, and consequently do not obey it. If they understood they would obey immediately, for they have the spirit of obedience. But although we must never attach such importance to the doctrine as to say that God "cannot and will not wink at the ignorance of honest, humble souls and pardon them without being baptised;" yet we believe, should they close their eyes against the truth, or knowing it, refuse to obey, they would be guilty before God and would be condemned for their disobedience.²

7. Closely allied to the respective differences in the rigidity of the views of Campbell and Stone on the necessity of immersion for the remission of sins, was the variance in their customs of admitting unimmersed christians to the communion in the Lord's supper.

Mr Campbell, as has before been noted, was once as exclusive as John Walker of the Plymouth Brethren. He had limited all worship to those of like mind on religious subjects. This position he had given up, for he saw by that method, that their principles could never be disseminated.³ He seems to have been undecided just what course to pursue, but continued to be exclusive in the matter of restricting the Communion to immersed believers. As he further developed his views concerning the doctrine of remission of sins, he became more confident in the practice of close communion, and contended more earnestly for the position.⁴ He remarked in the "Millennial Harbinger" "We do not recollect that we have ever argued out the merits of this 'free and open communion system.'" But one remark we must /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol ix. pp. 222, 223.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. viii. p. 265.

3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. i. pp. 446-455: Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 238: Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. pp. 137, 138.

4. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 371.

must offer in passing, that we must regard it as one of the weakest and most vulnerable causes ever plead."¹

Stone, on the question of communion, takes the position that Campbell once held. In 1831, he states "Our brethren, the Disciples, ask us, How can you grant the privileges of the kingdom to such as have not been immersed, when it is plain that by immersion only they are born or made members of the kingdom? How can you commune with such at the Lord's table? I answer, that there are many things done under the New Institution or covenant, which were divinely instituted before that covenant was fully confirmed, and declared; yet these things were designed to be perpetuated to the end of time. Thus prayer, praise, thanksgiving, teaching, preaching, and even the Lord's supper, were divinely instituted, before Jesus died, was buried and rose again; consequently, before the foundation of the New Institution was fully laid, and of course, before any were built upon it. John's baptism brought none into the new kingdom. The Disciples, and the rest of the
 ✓ 120 on Pentecost, were therefore not inducted into this new kingdom by immersion, yet they prayed, praised and communed with those in it, and these divine acts were reciprocated. As well might we forbid unimmersed persons to pray, to praise, to teach, as to forbid them to commune..... What authority have we for inviting or debarring any pious, holy believer from the Lord's table? Though it be done by many, we see no divine authority for it. The King's will is, that his friends do this in remembrance of him - and all that his law expressed on the subject is, 'Let a man examine himself and so let him eat and drink - If he eats and drinks unworthily he /

1. Quoted in Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. p. 245 - November 1831.

he eats and drinks damnation to himself, (not to others) not discerning the Lord's body. He has nowhere established a court of inquisition to fence his table, nor to prevent any from praying, praising, or worshipping him, unless they have been immersed. We confess we cannot see why so much more importance should be attached to the Lord's supper, than to the other divine commands.. We have long feared that the feast of love has been made by designing men an occasion of discord and division among the saints. We have seen many unimmersed possess the spirit of the kingdom; and we have seen many immersed destitute of it. To receive the latter, and to reject the former, we cannot view divine."¹

Campbell objects most strenuously to Stone's position, and to his statement that there was "no authority from scripture to forbid me to commune at the Lord's table,"² with unimmersed christians. In refutation, Alexander Campbell writes: "If I mistake not, the Apostles were commanded to teach the immersed to observe and do all things which the Lord commanded. If the Christian Messenger teach the unimmersed to do the things which the Lord commanded none but the immersed to practice, I should like to have his authority; and, also, to know why he would condemn the Paidobaptist for sprinkling infants. 'I have nothing in scripture,' he replies, 'to forbid me to commune with unbaptized persons at the Lord's table.' This might be said of a hundred things which the Christian Messenger would tremble to do. But the question is, by what authority, command or precept, does he commune at the Lord's table with unbaptized persons? It is not enough to say there is no command against it. Is there a command for it? If there be not /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. v. pp. 184, 185. See also Christian Messenger vol. iv. pp. 162, 163.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol iv. p. 162, June 1830.

not a command or precedent for it, we can easily find one against it. Because whatever is not commanded by the Lord is human, and all human institutions in religion are will-worship, and, as such, obnoxious to the curse. And never yet could I see the consistency in requiring one person to be immersed before admitted to the kingdom and receiving another without immersion to the blessing of the kingdom. If this be not to build up with one hand and tear down with the other. I have yet to learn how a person can be guilty of such an inconsistency I know that he leans very much to charity and that he has long been distinguished for charity; but a question may yet arise whether charity, true charity, does not more consist in calling upon men to reform and obey the gospel, rather than to flatter them that they may be safe in disobeying God, or in observing and doing such parts of the divine will as they please, or as they please to understand".¹

8. This difference in the insistence on the doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins, led to another difference in practice among the two bodies. Campbell and the "Reformers" received none but the immersed into membership in their churches; the Stone people left this as a matter of "forbearance", although the membership of the churches in the West were almost unanimously immersed believers. This question of "open membership", or "receiving the pious unimmersed", was then the greatest barrier between the two bodies; and it exists to-day, as the most sensitive form of "heresy" among the Disciples of Christ.

Campbell, since his own baptism, in 1812, had insisted on an immersed membership, and, on this point when in union with the /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, October 4, 1830.

the Baptists, there was never any question. However, when considering the relationship with the "Christians", this became a problem to be solved. Campbell stated that while he, himself, could receive into the most cordial fellowship, all disciples of Christ, yet, he "could not, and dare not, say to all the members of a christian congregation that they must do so too; and as I have no right to dispense with any of the institutions of Jesus Christ, I could not approve the adoption of a rule to receive such persons, which, in its direct tendency, aims at the abolition of one of the fundamental laws of the empire. Again if we are to fritter down the christian institution to suit the prejudices and weaknesses of disciples, it would soon be divested of every prominent feature characteristic of its grand original".¹

Stone insisted that they had no right to make their "notions of baptism, however, well founded, a bar to christian fellowship". He stated of the "Reformers";- "Should they make their own peculiar views of immersion a term of fellowship, it will be impossible for them to repel, successfully, the imputation of being sectarians, and of having an authoritative creed (though not written) of one article ... and this short creed would exclude more christians than any creed with which I am acquainted".² Again he writes in the Christian Messenger for August, 1831; "They contend (so we understand them) that according to the New Institution none but the immersed have their sins remitted... On this point we cannot agree with them, and the reason of our disagreement, is that this sentiment, in our view will exclude millions of the fairest characters, for many centuries back, from heaven. For if the immersed only, receive the /

1. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 457.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, p. 201.

receive the remission of sins, all those millions that have died, being unimmersed, have died in their sins, or unwashed from their sins. Jesus said, 'If ye die in your sins, where God is, you can never come'. Of course they are excluded from heaven. Hell, therefore must be their portion; for protestants do not believe in a purgatory. Why are they sent to hell? For disobedience to the one command of being immersed I know our brethren say, 'We do not declare that they are excluded from heaven, but only from the kingdom on earth. We leave them in the hand of God'. But does not the sentiment lead to that conclusion? We believe and acknowledge that Baptism is ordained by the King a means for the remission of sins to penitent believers; but we cannot say, that immersion is the sine qua non, without maintaining the awful consequence above, and without contradicting our own experience. We therefore teach the doctrine, believe, repent, and be immersed for the remission of sins, and we endeavour to convince our hearers of its truth; but we exercise patience and forbearance towards such pious persons, as cannot be convinced".¹

To this article, Alexander Campbell, replies in the next number of "Millennial Harbinger" - Sept. 5 1831. Speaking of Stone's statment just quoted, he says: "But in this whole case there is an entire mistake of the whole question. It assumes a principle inadmissible, viz. That God's rule or principle of rewarding men hereafter, is to be, as near as we can guess it, the rule of our conduct to them in receiving them into his kingdom on earth, and in treating them as members of it But the question is, Are we authorised to make the sincerity and honesty of a person's mind a rule of our conduct?..Neither, perhaps, is it a fair position to assume that any man's sincerity /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v p. 181.

sincerity in opinion or belief will have any weight in the final judgment; but whether or not, it cannot be a rule of our proceeding in any case. We judge from actions - God judges the heart; and, therefore we look for visible obedience; and when we are assured that the Lord has commanded every man to confess him, or to profess the faith and be immersed into his name, we can never justify ourselves before God or man in presuming in our 'judgment of charity' to set aside his commandment, and in accepting for it a human substitute."¹

Barton Stone, in the November Messenger, prints the eight page article by Campbell from which the above was quoted.² This article on "Union, Communion, and the name Christian", was a general refutation of Stone's position on the named subjects. In the same number, and immediately following,³ Stone gives his answer: "Bro. A. Campbell has made some strictures on my essay on union, and the name Christian. These I have carefully read and have given them a place in the Messenger for the information of others. I once heard an old Baptist preacher say, that the enemies to christian Union, were the world, the flesh, and the Devil; and I will add, said he, the fourth, more mischievous than all, the preachers. The remark is humiliating to this class of christians, and willingly would I prove it false. Since that time the impression has remained indelible on my mind, and to good effect. I am aware of the deceptibility of the human mind, and of its strong propensity to make for ourselves a great name.... Until this proud spirit sink at the feet of Jesus, and we become cordially and joyfully willing to decrease, that Christ may increase, I cannot anticipate, as near that happy period of the church, so much talked of and prayed for /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, Sept. 5., 1831.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v. pp. 241-248.
3. " " " " " pp. 248-257.

for at this time ... So long have the clergy stood in the way of truth's advancement - so long has the deleterious shade of sectarianism, like the shadow of death, chilled the life's blood of christianity - so long and so often have the preachers divided those whom God had joined together by the spirit of truth, that I am afraid of myself, and jealous of others. I would rather my hand were palsied, than that it should direct a pen to any of these unhallowed purposes With regard to communion with the unimmersed, I have fully stated my reasons for it in the former numbers. Those reasons still incline my mind to the same practice. I may hereafter be convinced of their weakness and that the contrary are correct; should this be done, I shall prove by my conduct that I endeavour to be regulated by my convictions of truth - I am as fully convinced as he can be, that immersion is baptism, and that baptism is for the remission of sins, - I am as fully persuaded that every penitent believer should be immersed in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ as he can be; yet I remember the people of God have been long in the wilderness, and have been misled by the neglect of this ordinance ... I have no doubt that speaking and urging the truth in love, with christian forbearance will ultimately effect what a contrary course will fail to do. I plead ~~not for~~ Paedobaptists; that they are in error I have no doubt. But who is infallible? I have no interest in pleading for them, for we have been rejected by them all around us. I am influenced by principle alone ... I have never substituted sprinkling, sincere nor insincere, for immersion. This is well known by all who are acquainted with my history for years back".¹

9. Alexander Campbell, in discussing the union of the universal /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v., pp. 248-253.

universal church, in maintaining his position of allowing no unimmersed person membership in that church, stated: "I agree with the Christian Messenger, that there will be more Christians (calling all christendom christians) excluded by insisting on this command - 'Be immersed every one of you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, for the remission of your sins' - than by any creed in christendom. For there are more, alas! incomparably more nominal than real christians - more who say, 'Lord, Lord, and yet do not the things which he says', than there are who obey the will of the Heavenly Father. I have no liking for a church after the similitude of Noah's Ark I would rather have the storm of persecution outside the Ark, than coalesce for a few days through the inclemency of the weather".¹ Again he wrote: "If all the sects in the land were to unite with their present views and feelings, sectarian only excepted, how much better for the world or the church would it be! The Lord, in his mercy, and in his wrath, once divided the tongues of men; and it is an act of mercy, as respects the whole inhabitants of the earth, now to divide the tongues of a corrupt people..... Union amongst all the disciples of Jesus in the faith once divinely taught, is supremely to be desired, but a union of sects is as supremely to be deprecated To us, it appears, the only practicable way to accomplish this desirable object, is to propound the ancient gospel and the ancient order of things in the words and sentences found in the apostolic writings - to abandon all traditions and usages not found in the Record, and to make no human terms of communion".²

Stone, on the other hand, takes a broader position regarding the union of the church. He could write: "Our principles are /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, August, 2. 1850.

2. " " " May, 2, 1832.

are known to the world - that we have taken the Bible alone for our faith, to the rejection of all human creeds - that we have rejected every party name for Christians, which we alone will wear with consent - that we will unite in fellowship with all holy, obedient believers in Jesus, without regard to their opinions - that we will labour to the destruction of sectarianism!"¹ He taught that opinions should never be "introduced as tests of fellowship",² and that "the attempt to make all believe alike, has always been followed by the most painful results.... From past history we should learn wisdom, and no longer attempt to bind the free mind by civil power, and church censure, to believe the same things We grant that there is, or ought to be a uniformity of faith among christians. All should believe, and do believe the Bible as divine - as the truth of God. Not a fact or truth there stated, but all receive it. Yet the various opinions, formed of that fact or truth, no man can receive. Coersion has divided christians in every age; ever since the introduction of laws to enforce uniformity. The Reformers of the sixteenth century saw this, and for a while protested against it. They boasted that the Bible, the Bible alone was their religion. But the free mind soon began to form different opinions of Bible facts, for this they were reproached by the Catholics - and to remedy the supposed evil the Reformers began to embody their opinions of Bible truth in a creed or book, and required all their members to subscribe it. Thence division ensued, and it has continued and increased to the present time - and will continue as long as uniformity of faith is required".³

10. Regarding a union between the "Reformers", or "Disciples" as they were beginning to call themselves - they were by 1830, a religious /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol iv, p. 202.
 2. " " " " vii p. 147.
 3. " " " " " p. 303.

religious group quite apart from the Baptists - and the "Christians" there was considerable discussion through the "Millennial Harbinger" and the "Christian Messenger".

Stone said of the Reformers that some of them "shudder at the idea of uniting with the Christians, because our enemies have given such distorted views of our sentiments; and have held us up before the public so long as intolerable heretics, that they (the Reformers) are afraid of us, and believe their influence would be injured by such a union Yet these same brethren plainly see, that if they make these, their traditional notions, a term of fellowship, they must contradict their own declarations, and plan of rejecting opinion of truth as a just ground of christian fellowship".¹ — "We do not object to their opinions as terms of fellowship between us. But they seriously and honestly object to some of ours ~~why~~ they cannot unite.... We are ready at any moment, to meet and unite with those brethren, or any others, who believe in, and obey the Saviour according to their best understanding of his will, on the Bible, but not on opinion of its truth. We cannot with our present views unite on the opinion that unimmersed persons cannot receive the remission of sins, and therefore should be excluded from our fellowship and communion on earth. We cannot conscientiously give up the name Christian, acknowledged by our brethren most appropriate, for any other (as Disciple) less appropriate, and received to avoid the disgrace of being suspected to be a Unitarian or Trinitarian. We cannot thus temporise with divine truth".²

Alexander Campbell was opposed to any such union. Writing, in September, 1831, he states: "For our part, we might be honoured much by a union formal and public, with a society so large and /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iv p. 202.

2. " " " vol. v. pp. 180-182, August, 1831.

and so respectable as the Christian denomination; but if our union with them though so advantageous to us, would merge 'the ancient gospel and ancient order of things' in the long vexed question of simple anti-trinitarianism, anti-creedalism, or anti-sectarianism, I should be ashamed of myself in the presence of him whose 'well done, good and faithful servant', is worth the universe to me. We all could have had honourable alliances with honourable sectaries, many years since, had this been our object".¹

Stone answers this article by Campbell, and continues his argument for the union of "Reformers" and "Christians": "I know of neighbourhoods where some of each class reside, who remain scattered and disunited, and who from their local circumstances and paucity of number could not form two respectable congregations, yet united could be a respectable church. I have thought it better that they formally unite, and worship together as a congregation of brethren. This induced me to write as I did; and in order to effect this union I endeavoured to remove the objections made against it I find now, that I have misunderstood him on the 'ancient gospel', and the 'ancient order of things', from the beginning, if his statements be correct. In this I am not alone, for the Reformers of my acquaintance, as well as the Christians, have thought there were but light shades of difference between us ... If indeed the ancient gospel, and the ancient order for which they plead, be the gospel and order of the New Testament, may God speed them! may every other gospel and order for ever cease, and disappear before the light of heaven! Yet I cannot see 'most easily' the distinguishing traits of the ancient gospel for which they plead, from what has been taught by us long ago; unless it be that they attach more /

1. Campbell Millennial Harbinger, September 5, 1831.
Quoted, Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v p. 244.

more importance to baptism, than we have generally done, and that they may not attach so much virtue to the direct operations of the Spirit in obedient believers as we do..... As to the ancient order, both we and the Reformers have agreed that sectarianism, authoritative creeds and ecclesiastical councils, composed of uninspired men, are contrary to this order, and therefore rejected, at least in word, by us both, as not being divinely warranted. We both immerse penitent believers. - Some, not all, of both classes contend for, and practise weekly communion. - They differ from us in rejecting from communion the unimmersed, and in the ordination of elders or bishops. To what particular order brother C. may refer, as plead by the Reformers 'alone', I should be glad to know; and if indeed it is proved to be the ancient order, nothing shall prevent me from falling into it. He may have different views on these subjects from others, but this is no proof that these views are right... I remarked my fears, that should a union not take place between us, that the argument we both had long used against authoritative creeds, and sectarian establishments, would be nullified, that we should put a weapon in the hands of our opposers, which they would successfully wield against us. They would say that the Bible alone was insufficient to unite christians, and our example would be adduced as proof.... His fulsome remarks respecting the comparative respectability of the Christians, and of the editor of the Messenger, are viewed as mere sarcasm, for which I have no talent. Had I the genius of Lucian or Swift, against my friend I could not cast a wounding dart".¹

IV. Union of "Reformers" and "Christians in Kentucky."

While /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v. pp. 249-252. November 1831.

While this discussion was going forward with Alexander Campbell over in Virginia, Barton Stone was making overtures for union with the "Reformers" in Kentucky; and the leaders there in sympathy with Stone's attitude on the subject, rather than Campbell's, acted upon their convictions without consulting Alexander Campbell. We would not give the impression that there was any personal animosity between Stone and Campbell; on the other hand, they were the best of friends. Barton Stone loved Alexander Campbell. He wrote: "I will not say, there are no faults in brother Campbell; but there are fewer perhaps, in him than any man I know on earth; and over these few my love would throw a veil, and hide them from view for ever".¹ Campbell's regard for Stone was equally high. In 1827 he remarks in a letter to Stone: "Your enemies, and they are not a few, have, to a man, as far as I have heard them speak, said your christian character, your moral deportment, was unblemished".² It was characteristic of Campbell that he could most vigorously denounce the "errors" of those of whom he had the highest personal regard.³ Robert Semple, of the Baptist Church, with whom Campbell was often in controversy, stated of him: "As a man, in private circles, mild, pleasant and affectionate; as a writer, rigid and satirical, beyond all the bounds of scripture knowledge".⁴ He undoubtedly believed what he wrote, and was fearless in the advocacy of his honest convictions. He had, in 1829, visited Stone in Georgetown; and had, at the risk of displeasing the Baptist people, in that place, been entertained at his home and had preached in the Christian "Meeting house".⁵ When the "Christians"/

1. Stone, Autobiography, p. 76.

2. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 380.

3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol ii, p. 63.

4. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett's Edition, p. 227.

5. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol iv p. 7.

"Christians" and "Reformers" in Georgetown had first begun to intermingle, Campbell expressed his approval, notwithstanding, as he stated, "the sparrings between us editors".¹ But he was opposed to a union between the two parties. He feared that the principles set forth in the "Christian Baptist" had not been fully understood in Kentucky.² However, we are told that after the union was consummated he was disposed to promote it, although he might have thought it premature.³ Prof. Loos writes of his attitude: "Some twenty-five years after this act of union I received the account of it and of its result from the mouth of A. Campbell himself. It was not an easy matter for him to consent to any friendship with even the mildest form of Arianism, but he had the wisdom and the charity to allow the judgment of such men as J.T. Johnson to prevail".⁴

As implied in the quotation above Johnson was the moving spirit in bringing the "Reformers" into union with the "Christians".⁵ John T. Johnson was born near Georgetown in 1788, and belonged to one of the oldest and most respected families of Kentucky. He was educated at Transylvania University, then under the direction of Dr. James Blythe, the early friend of Barton Stone. He had studied law with his brother, Richard M. Johnson, who was later elected vice-president of the United States. In 1809, at the age of twenty-one, he had begun the practice of law. Six years later he was elected to the Kentucky legislature, to which he was repeatedly returned until he was sent to Congress in 1820. In 1828 he had retired from political life because it took him too much away from his home and family.

Johnson /

1. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, p. 449.
2. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol ii. pp. 387, 388
3. John Rogers, The Biography of Elder J.T. Johnson. p. 30.
4. Garrison, The Reformation of The Nineteenth Century. pp. 93, 94.
5. John Rogers, The Biography of Elder J.T. Johnson, p. 11.

Johnson was a member of the Baptist church at Great Crossings, the church to which Jacob Creath was ministering when the Baptists had been so divided over the controversy in which he was the central figure. Creath had adopted Campbell's views. Johnson, during his political career, had been too busy to take an interest in the excitement that prevailed among the Baptists over "Campbellism". However, after his retirement - "during the years '29 and '30"¹ - he studied and adopted the principles of the "Reformation". He began preaching, but when the Baptist church refused to receive his converts on their confession and baptism, and without relating an "experience" he, in February 1831, with a few others who stood for the position advocated by Campbell, left the Baptists and formed a separate congregation.

This action led to an intimate acquaintance and firm friendship with Barton Stone,² who lived near him. They encouraged their congregations to meet together. They recognised that their positions were similar. Johnson had adopted the fundamental principles of Campbell, but without the spirit or background of the Haldanean or Scotch Baptists, of whom he had no knowledge, for they were unknown in Kentucky. Stone and Johnson determined to spare no efforts to unite the "Christians" and the "Reformers". Johnson, at Stone's request agreed to become co-editor of the "Christian Messenger", with the hope that this would further the spirit of union. - to begin the following January 1832. They sent for John Smith, who was a leader among the "Reformers", and who sympathised with and encouraged this fraternal spirit. In November, 1831, Smith conducted a revival for Johnson, thus increasing his church membership /

1. John Rogers, The Biography of Elder J.T. Johnson, p. 21.

2. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, p.448.

Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol ii, p. 382.

membership to forty. While Smith was in the community, these men held an informal conference to plan for the union of the two bodies. John Rogers, one of the leading preachers among the "Christians", and others, were present. They decided to hold a four days meeting at Georgetown over the Christmas time, and another at Lexington during the New Years holiday for the purpose of bringing about a formal union of the two bodies.¹ Accordingly, notices were sent out asking the members of both parties to attend these meetings. At this conference, it was also decided that John Smith and John Rogers, representing respectively the "Reformers" and the "Christians" should go together to all the churches in that part of Kentucky, with the hope of making this union general. The churches would finance them to the extent of three hundred dollars a year,² during the time they spent on this mission. This was not a large sum, but in Kentucky in those days, salaries were small, and a dollar meant much more than it does now. Stone immediately began to rally his people to this proposition. He writes in the Messenger for November 1831 - the same issue in which he and Campbell had discussed the possibility of union: "Would it not greatly conduce to the advancement of truth, if the churches (say in the north of Kentucky) were to engage two preachers to ride steadily and preach among them day and night? Such two preachers have been consulted - each has a dependent family, and each anxious to serve his master and the churches in this way. We have calculated on the most economical plan: - We think ~~\$~~300 to each, paid quarterly, with the industry of their families, will support them. They are willing to undertake for this small sum. They are among the most respectable of our preachers, whose praise is in all the churches. No one will think for a moment that /

1. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, p. 449.
 2. " " " " " p. 459.

that gain is their object. - We are persuaded that great good will result from this course. Let each church meet together immediately and act on the subject without delay. Let each member affix to his name the sum which he is willing to give, and let their Deacons send me the account as soon as possible. It can then be determined whether the plan proposed will be adopted".¹

The success of the Meeting at Georgetown was assured, for Stone and Johnson, the "prime movers in this good work"², had their congregations well prepared for this move.

However, the meeting at Lexington was more in the nature of an experiment. Some of the "Reformers" in Lexington as expressed by one of their number were "distrustful of the consequences that might follow such a union of christians".³ This was not a meeting of church officers only, but a "mass meeting of the brethren"⁴. Each party was somewhat suspicious of the other. The "Reformers" were still inclined to consider the "Christians" as Arians, who practised open communion and open membership. Some of the "Christians" thought that the "Reformers" taught water salvation, and denied the influence of the Spirit. A large crowd assembled on Saturday at the Christian meeting house on Hill St., and many were fearful lest their position be compromised. It was arranged that Barton Stone and John Smith should each address the congregation, and give his idea of the "scriptural ground of union among the people of Christ".⁵ The addresses were well guarded⁶ and satisfactory to those present, and the union was formally ratified by giving /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v. p. 258.

2. John Rogers, Autobiography of Stone, p. 342.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi, p. 58.

4. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, p. 450.

5. " " " " " p. 451.

6. For fuller account of addresses see Williams, Life of Elder John Smith. Chap. 29.

giving to each other the hand of fellowship. On the Lord's day, they communed together as a confirmation of their new relationship.

The basis on which the union was consummated can best be set forth by the testimony of the two men who launched the movement. In the first issue of the "Messenger" under the joint editorship of Johnson and Stone in an article signed "Editors", they tell the story of the union. Regarding the agreement reached, they state: "It may be asked, is there no difference of opinion among you? We answer, we do not know, nor are we concerned to know. We have never asked them what were their opinions, nor have they asked us. If they have opinions different from ours, they are welcome to them, provided they do not endeavour to impose them on us as articles of faith. They say the same of us".¹ The two parties had at Lexington, through John Smith and Barton Stone, who were representing them, pledged each other that when speaking of speculative matters concerning which the world had long contended, they would use only "the language of inspiration; for it can offend no one to say about those things just what the Lord himself has said".² John Smith, in his address, had urged: "When certain subjects arise, even in conversation or social discussion, about which there is a contrariety of opinion and sensitiveness of feeling, speak of them in the words of the Scriptures, and no offence will be given, and no pride of doctrine will be encouraged. We may even come, in the end, by thus speaking the same things, to think the same things".³

This union basis seemed ideal, and during the presence of the /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi p. 7.

2. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, p. 453.

3. " " " " " p. 454.

the recognised leaders of both parties, all went well. However, when the Lexington churches were left to work out the details of the new relationship, trouble developed. They could not agree on the matter of a leader. The "Christians" had always had an ordained minister as their "preacher", and thought that none but Elders or Preachers should administer the ordinances. Many of the "Reformers" having adopted Campbell's views, were directly opposed to this idea. This situation is very vividly and almost humorously set forth in a letter written during February following to Campbell, by one of the "Reformers" and published in the "Millennial Harbinger". This gentleman, after telling of the union meeting, and of the difficulty over the choosing of an Elder, continues; "So we find ourselves on the same ground as we were, which we will endeavour by the help of the lord, to maintain - and not embark in a perilous voyage in a frail vessel again. We have, however, probed to the very bottom of the matter, and ascertained what the true difference between us is, and console ourselves by a fond recollection of having done our duty. It is the Clergy - the hireling system - the called and sent - the rulers - that keep us apart. We cannot unite under present existing circumstances. The present existing circumstance is this: there is not a member in either society whom we could appoint Elder, according to divine direction; and some of the Christian friends wished to know if they could not hire one from a sister church, with her consent, to administer the ordinances Yes, sir, it is this hireling system, this divine call and mission, which forbade our union; because our union forbids this state of things. This clerical authority, this thing of Elder here, and there, and yonder, at the same time, is what caused our blow up".¹

With /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, April 2. 1832.

With this attitude Campbell heartily sympathises. He writes in the next issue of the Harbinger: "Why promise to submit to the constitution, laws, institutions, and rules of discipline found in this volume, and afterwards require submission to institutions and usages wholly human? Such would appear to have been the cause of the recent abortion in Lexington, Kentucky ... Does any New Testament writer authorise the importation of Bishops from other churches; or a monthly or even a stated weekly meeting for the purpose of 'hearing preaching' and the usual fashionable appendages? The Regular Baptists in former times chose Bishops or Presidents from among themselves in every church: but now they have found out an ingenious way of evading that they acknowledge a New Testament institution. A church in Philadelphia wishes to have an accomplished orator from Georgia: he is then called, and the quid pro quo is tacitly agreed upon, or there is an 'understanding' upon the subject. He preaches his farewell sermon to his former charge; thinks his labours were not blessed, and hopes that the Lord has something for him in Philadelphia, which he did not wish him to do in Augusta, or expect that he could do. He receives his letter of dismissal, and hies away to Philadelphia. He there presents it to the church that called him - and is received as a private member; and thus being one of them, he is selected from among them as if he had first 'been well proved' and is forthwith ordained or installed Bishop of the church. Thus the forms are kept pretty fair; while, in fact the true intent and meaning of the apostolic institution is evaded.... The "Christians" in Lexington, it would seem, are not Antiochans in these particulars. They could not think of the weekly meeting for christian worship, nor of receiving the emblems and memorials of the great sacrifice, unless consecrated and presented by the hands of one ordained by men to minister /

minister at the altar, even though he should be called from a distant church, or have the presidency of a plurality of congregations. The New Testament, indeed could not be a bond of union to those thus traditionalised; for it knows no such usages."¹

Thus we have one of the first attempts at union brought to naught because of insistence on their opinions, which they had said should never be. The opinion as to whether the Elder or minister must be, or need not be, a resident member of the local congregation, broke the Lexington pledge of union. They had no creed but the Bible, but their opinions on the teachings of the Bible were more binding and divisive than a written creed. It was not until July 1835², after the Stone influence had somewhat softened the rigidity of the "Reformer" positions, and the Campbell teachings had somewhat eliminated the ideas of apostolic succession, that the union between the two groups was finally consummated.

However, in spite of the temporary failure at Lexington, the union movement rapidly spread. The constant propaganda of Stone and Johnson through the "Christian Messenger", coupled with the tireless energy of the two travelling evangelists - John Rogers and John Smith - soon won to the union cause the majority of the individuals and churches in Kentucky. Nor was this limited to Kentucky. Churches in Indiana, Tennessee, and other states rapidly followed the example.

The union of "Christians" and "Disciples" did not mean a surrender of principles or opinions. No one was asked to give up any sentiment that they held.³ They agreed to work and worship together. Each should respect the opinion of the other.

No / .

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, May 2, 1832.
2. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, p. 460.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol ix p. 43.

No opinions should be insisted on, nor any speculative subjects debated that might cause division of feeling.¹ The question of immersion was not raised;² while the majority of the "Christians" in Kentucky had been immersed, some had not. It was a mutual pledge to preach the gospel and not their opinions. The "Christians" were not asked to join Alexander Campbell, nor the "Reformers" to join Barton Stone. All were to follow Christ and work to promote his kingdom. The leaders in this movement believed with Alexander Vinet that, "Living unity is a peace achieved upon a field of battle where the conquered becomes the conquerer's ally, and feels himself to be, as indeed he is, his fellow-victor".³

But, as might have been expected, not all of the members of the two parties were as liberal as Stone, Johnson, Rogers, Smith and some of the other leaders. There were many misunderstandings, and many prejudices to live down. Two churches do not rush into each others arms like long lost brothers. Many were opposed to the union. The "Reformers", in some instances, were inclined to force their views on the more charitable "Christians". As a result, many of the christian Churches in Ohio and in the eastern states held out of the union⁴, thinking that Stone had betrayed the cause. This was a great sorrow to Barton Stone, for christian union was the passion of his life. He writes in his Autobiography: "This union, I have no doubt, would have been as easily effected in other States as in Kentucky /

1. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, pp. 455, 456.
Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi. p. 7, pp. 90, 103.
2. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ. p. 269.
3. Quoted By Prof. Choisy-Bate, Faith and Orders, London, 1927 p. 32.
4. Those who did not unite have continued their separate existence and are known as the "Christians" or the "Christian Connection" with headquarters at Dayton, Ohio. Campbell stated that two hundred congregations of the "Christians" in Kentucky and Ohio alone, united with the "Disciples". (Jones, Millennial Harbinger, vol i. p. 18.)

Kentucky, had there not been a few ignorant, headstrong bigots on both sides, who were more influenced to retain and augment their party, than to save the world by uniting according to the prayer of Jesus. Some irresponsible zealots among the Reformers so called, would publicly and zealously contend against sinners praying, or that professors should pray that God would assist them in declaring his truth to the people - they rejected from Christianity all who were not baptised for the remission of sins and who did not observe the weekly communion, and many such doctrines they preached. The old Christians, who were unacquainted with the preachers of information among us, would naturally conclude these to be the doctrines of us all; and they rose up in opposition to us all, representing our religion as a spiritless prayerless religion, and dangerous to the souls of men. They ran to the opposite extreme in Ohio, and in the Eastern states. I blame not the Christians for opposing such doctrines; but I do blame the more intelligent among them, that they did not labour to allay those prejudices of the people by teaching them the truth, and not to cherish them, as many of them did in their periodicals, and public preaching. Nor were they only blameable; some of the Reformers are equally worthy of blame, by rejecting the name Christian as a family name, because the old Christians had taken it before them. At this, posterity will wonder, when they know that the sentiment was published in one of our most popular periodicals, and by one in the highest standing amongst us.¹ It is not wonderful that the prejudices of the old Christian church should be against us, and that they should so unkindly upbraid me especially, and my brethren in Kentucky, for uniting with the Reformers. But what else could we /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, August 2nd 1830 - December 5, 1831.

we do, the Bible being our directory? Should we command them to leave the foundation on which we stood - the Bible alone - when they had come upon the same? By what authority could we command? Or should we have left this foundation to them, and have built upon another? Or should we have remained, and fought for the sole possession? They held the name Christian as sacred as we did - they were equally averse from making opinions the test of fellowship - and equally solicitous for the salvation of souls. This union, irrespective of reproach, I view as the noblest act of my life".¹

John Smith, also, was reproached by the "Reformers" for betraying their position. Some were displeased because he had become a party to the plan of employing evangelists for a stated salary compensation². They demanded a New Testament example for such a course of procedure. This was not according to the ancient order of things; it was not done by the Jerusalem Church. Many of them conscientiously refused to co-operate, and did all they could to frustrate the plan. However, the plan was retained. "But we are fully able", said Stone, "to assist these Evangelists to support, their dependent families, should all others forsake us".³ Johnson, one of the recognised leaders of the "Reformers", attempted to quiet their prejudices, and urged them to support this good work. He stated that Smith and Rogers "are far from being under any hireling system.... With some hesitation, they consented to embark in the heavenly cause and continue at least, during the year 1832. They boldly ventured forth, and determined to risk the liberality of the brethren, in compensating them for the pecuniary sacrifice.... That sum we esteem as remarkably reasonable, when we raise, for them, three hundred dollars each. And as they consented /

1. Stone, Autobiography, pp. 78, 79.

2. Williams, Life of Elder John Smith. pp. 464, 465.

3. Quoted from Do. p. 464.

consented to ride during the year perfectly dependent upon our liberality, we could not offer them less than that amount

Some of these remarks are made and explanations given, that erroneous impressions may be corrected as to engagements of brethren Jno Smith and Jno Rogers".¹ John Gano, one of the leading Christian preachers, who was present when the arrangement was made with Smith and Rogers, protests that nothing is farther from the truth or more slanderous than to say that it was the salary that induced these men to enter upon this work. He explains that their families were large and the sum allowed was small, and adds, "now where is the honest man that would not blush to call this a hireling system".²

We do not think it unfair to conclude that much of this dissatisfaction and contentious spirit, was occasioned by Alexander Campbell's own attitude towards the union. In the January number of the "Harbinger" - the first issue after the Lexington meeting - he expresses his views of the union, and of the work of these two evangelists. He writes "With these two brethren we are well acquainted. They have both been preaching the ancient institutions for some years, and are very much devoted to the truth. They have both been very successful preachers.... The one was formerly "a Baptist", the other, formerly "a Christian" in the sectarian import of these words, differing from each other only in some speculative opinions; and were employed in building up congregations perfectly alike in modes of preaching, and in their dependence upon an order of men called preachers, to dispense ordinances, and 'perform divine service'; perfectly alike in their modes of preaching, textuary theologies, friends of monthly meetings, having each his /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi p. 308.

2. " " " " " pp. 348, 349 - November 1832.

his four congregations waiting upon his ministrations

But now they have each renounced his own-ism and have protested against all human isms, (their own amongst the number); and now they plead the ancient order of things; an item of which, and but an item of which, is the ancient gospel I can vouch for the fact that those stigmatised "Campbellites" have surrendered nothing, not a single truth that they either believed or taught; and they who have united with us from all parties have met us upon the ancient gospel and the ancient order of things".¹

John Rogers, in an answer to this article, states; "You say, 'We were pleased to learn that Brethren Smith, Stone, Rogers and others at a public meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, on New Year's day, renounced their former speculations'. This information, brother Campbell, was not exactly correct. I am happy to say that none were called upon to renounce their own speculations or to embrace those of others in order to the enjoyment of fellowship and union the object of the brethren at Lexington was to promote christian union upon the facts of the gospel, regardless of speculative opinions".²

Barton Stone and John T. Johnson, through the pages of the "Christian Messenger" did their best to counteract this spirit that had been injected into the union. In April, they issue a joint statement,³ in which they declare: "It is common for the Christians to say, the Reformers have joined us - and no less common is it for the Reformers to say, the Christians have joined us. One will say, the Christians have given up their former opinions of many doctrines, and have received ours - another will say, the Reformers have relinquished their views /

1. Campbell, Millennial, Harbinger, January, 2. 1832.

2. " " " May, 2. 1832.

3. See also statements of Smith (Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi p. 87. and by Rogers, Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi, p. 101.).

views on many points, and embraced ours. These things are doing mischief to the cause of Christian union, and well calculated to excite jealousy, and to give offence. They can do no good - in fact they are not true. We have met together on the Bible, being drawn together there by the cords of truth - we agreed to walk together according to this rule, and to be united by the spirit of truth. Neither the Christians nor Reformers professed to give up any sentiments or opinions previous to our union, nor were any required to be given up in order to effect it The advice we give our brethren, is that they avoid giving offence by using such representations as stated above. Take heed that pride or vanity be not at the bottom of such boasting. The words I and WE how big! and vanity wishes to raise them to the public gaze, as pre-eminent in knowledge, in truth, and in every virtue, as sole instructors of the ignorant, and leaders of the blind. They too often wish for the pre-eminence. This is the mischievous spirit that has ruined the christian world, and divided them into angry opposing sects. Christians, be humble and love one another; seek for truth as for hidden treasure, and be willing to buy it at the sacrifice of all you possess. Walk in it - live by it - and you will be blessed, and be a blessing to the world".¹

Again in September, 1832, Barton Stone urges the people **not** to bind their opinions on their fellow christians. He writes: "I am now near three score years of age - near 36 of which I have laboured in word and doctrine. I laboured seven years with the Presbyterians, and should have continued with them, if they had permitted me to read and understand the scriptures /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi p. 111.

scriptures for myself, and to preach them according to my understanding of them. But this I was not permitted to do. Honest I preferred to Hypocrisy, liberty to slavery, poverty to wealth, a good conscience to ease and popularity, and the glory of God, and the honour of his truth, to every other consideration: therefore; with a few free spirits, I resigned all my friends, my ease, my good name, my living, to Jesus and his truth; determined to follow him wherever his word should direct me. To be bound by a human authoritative creed, confessed to be fallible, I could not, I would not. - Determined to be free myself, I durst not attempt to impose such a creed on others There are two kinds of human authoritative creeds - one is drawn up in articles, and written or printed in a book - the other is a set of doctrines or opinions received, but not committed to writing, or printed in a book. Each of these kinds of creeds is used for the same purpose, which is to exclude from fellowship the man, who dares to dissent from them. Of the two, we certainly give the preference to creeds written and published; because we can then read them, and form a more correct judgment of the doctrines contained in them. There are some amongst us very clamorous against written or printed

✓ creeds, who yet have a creed of their own, of which they are as tenacious, as any other sectarian is of his written creed; and they are equally intolerant against those who dissent from their doctrines or opinions Campbell and Stone are but fallible men, and therefore should not be followed farther than they follow Christ. Our opinions we wish no man to receive as truth, nor do we desire to impose them on any as tests of christian fellowship. This is the principle on which we as christians commenced our course many years ago, and I cannot but view those as departed from this principle, who will not bear with their brethren /

brethren We, who profess to stand upon the Bible alone, and contend that opinions of truth should not be made terms of fellowship - shall we be intolerant towards each other because we may differ in our opinions? Forbid it, Heaven! If you think your brother in error, labour in the spirit of love and meekness to convince him; but imposing zeal against him will only harden him against any good impression you would make. It will probably stir up strife, and ultimately destroy love, the bond of union Let the unity of christians be our polar star. To this let our eyes be continually turned, and to this let our united efforts be directed - that the world may believe, and be saved. A little longer forbearance with each others' weakness, and truth will triumph. But let that man who opposes christian union, remember, that he opposes the prayer of Jesus, and the salvation of the world. How will he meet his Judge?".¹

We have attempted to set forth in their own words, the teachings of Alexander Campbell and of Barton Warren Stone, and their respective attitudes toward the 'Union of 1832'. What an incongruous mixture! What diverse elements to be welded into a whole! Bishop Brent has recently, in speaking of Christ's call to unity, set before the christian world a great ideal: "He appeals to us to hush our prejudices, to sit lightly to our opinions, to look on the things of others as though they were our very own - all this without slighting the convictions of our hearts or our loyalty to God. It can be done. It must be done".² The people who united in Kentucky and elsewhere, in 1832, have long had as a slogan of their party. "Unity of faith, liberty of opinions", But who is to decide the line of demarcation between faith and opinion? Whose "opinion" shall determine this basic principle? That has been the problem.

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol vi pp. 263-266.

2. Bate, Faith and Order, London 1927. p. 4.

CHAPTER IX.THE BLENDING OF THE TWO MOVEMENTS.

From the time of the Union of 1832, there has been among these united people, two differing trends of thought, as represented by the teachings of Alexander Campbell and of Barton Warren Stone. From the beginning of the movement, there has been among its leaders two classes of men, placing a different emphasis on the principles and plea of the "Disciples of Christ." There has always been, and still is, some disagreement as to whether, as a communion, they are pleading for a restoration of the New Testament Church, or for a union of all christians on an anti-sectarian basis. With these two differing ideals, it can readily be assumed that there must often be conflicts in plans and purposes, and that, sooner or later, one principle must alter or eliminate the other.

Immediately after the Union, the reaction was toward the Campbell position. There were various reasons for this. Considering the personalities of the two men, Campbell was undoubtedly a more aggressive leader. Then, too, Stone and the "Christians" were no longer a new "heresy." They were now accepted, not as an orthodox religious party, but as a growing and powerful communion that was permanently established. By 1832 they had for almost thirty years been pleading for christian union on the common scriptural basis. Stone was now sixty years of age, and ready to give over his distinct leadership to younger hands. In 1834 he moved to Jacksonville, Illinois. In 1841 he was stricken with paralysis; and although he was still /

still able, with the assistance of D.P. Henderson, to edit the "Christian Messenger" from that place, he was no longer active in the public work of the communion. His death in 1844 did not end his influence, for his spirit and teachings had been imbibed somewhat by John T. Johnson, with whom he was so closely associated, and by many of the other "Reformer" leaders, as well as his own "Christian" preachers. However, the fact that many of the "Christians" in Ohio, and particularly in the East, could not conscientiously enter into the union movement, considerably lessened the influence of the Stone party during those early days.

On the other hand, Alexander Campbell was then the religious sensation of America. He was still new to the public gaze. He had become known through his debates with Walker in 1820, and with MacCalla in 1823. In 1829 he had accepted the challenge thrown out to the religious world by Robert Owen, the noted infidel and communist of Lanark, Scotland. This published debate had been read both in America and in Europe. In 1823, Campbell had begun the publication of the "Christian Baptist" which was powerful either in winning adherents to his cause, or in making bitter enemies. The resulting division in the Baptist Church was being finalised at the time of the union with the "Christians." The "Baptist" had been supplemented in 1830 by the "Millennial Harbinger," which, while somewhat milder in tone, still took a very determined stand on various religious positions. The Campbell debates continued after the Union. In 1837, in Cincinnati, he defended Protestantism against the arguments of Bishop Purcell of the Roman Catholic Church. His minor discussions, through these early years of the movement, were numerous. Perhaps the climax of the controversial period of his life was his great debate with Rev. N.L. Rice of the Presbyterian /

Presbyterian Church. This was held in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1843, beginning on November the fifteenth and ending on December the second. The brilliant young Presbyterian was a very worthy opponent; and in the discussions of baptism, regeneration, the Holy Spirit, and the value of human creeds, every argument was produced by these able logicians. The published debate of more than nine hundred pages was widely circulated and much discussed. Alexander Campbell was a great controversialist, and in an age when religious controversy was in vogue.

The "Reformers" had, as was shown by Alexander Campbell's statements on christian union, about given up the idea of denominational union, which was in the mind of Thomas Campbell at the time of the organisation of the "Christian Association." Moore, in his History of the Disciples, writes of this period:- "The movement at first was necessarily belligerent. In some respects it made war on the existing denominations with relentless energy. Part of the plea was the overthrow of denominationalism and the sectarian spirit. It held out the olive branch of peace to all who would accept the terms which the Disciples believed were fundamental in the teaching of the Scriptures, for these terms always and everywhere required the complete surrender of the denominational position, and the hearty acceptance of what was called 'the ancient order of things.' At least this was the contention of the Disciples after they had been forced into a separate religious position.... It was really a fighting movement from the start; consequently it carried with it many of the evils of a continuous conflict."¹ Campbell had stated that "Religious controversy has enlightened the world";² and had urged his people, "To your posts, then, O Israel! /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, pp. 277, 278.

2. Jones, British Millennial Harbinger i, p. 108 - Quoting Campbell's Millennial Harbinger, vol. i.

Israel! Remember you have enlisted not for six months, like some of the sectarian militia; but you have vowed allegiance during the war."¹ There was among these people an ever-readiness to debate; and although not always in the aggressive, they were willing to meet all challengers. They promoted the spirit of conflict instead of the spirit of unity. The other religious communions ceased fighting each other, and leagued together against the "Campbellites," as they called them - and they often pronounced the word with the emphasis of an oath.

Many of these "Campbellites" became very intolerant of all who could not see with them on Bible subjects, and especially as concerned immersion as baptism. They refused to admit that Paedo-baptists were christians. This is shown in the writings of many of the leaders of that period. A gentleman from Tennessee writes to Stone that "no immersed person, however penitent, can be saved, or have his sins remitted, or can receive the gift of the Holy Spirit."² We do not quote this as an unusual statement; rather, it was a characteristic attitude of the stricter party. James Henshall,³ one of the outstanding leaders, and a frequent contributor to Campbell's "Millennial Harbinger," takes this same attitude. He wrote to Barton Stone, in an attempt to check his too-charitable tendency: "No man or woman /

1. Jones, British Millennial Harbinger 1, p. 111.
2. Letter from Gooch - Christian Messenger 9, p. 221.
3. James Henshall was a Baptist when he arrived in America from Cheshire, England, in 1828, but very soon became associated with the "Reforming Baptists" led by Campbell. He did much preaching through Maryland and Virginia, and was instrumental in the formation of a church at Baltimore. He counted Alexander Campbell "the ablest proclaimer of the gospel" that he had heard on either side of the Atlantic. (Letter written 1834 - Printed by Jones in his English Millennial Harbinger, 1, pp. 20-23). Henshall accompanied Alexander Campbell on his visit to England during 1847. (Moore, Disciples of Christ, p. 599.

woman has any right to the name of christian, only as he or she is found obeying the commands of the Saviour.... Suppose we wish to say that people may be christians, who have never seen it to be their duty to be immersed for the remission of sins, and of course are ignorant in this matter; the moment we say they were excusable because they were ignorant, we rob all the more intelligent of any pretensions to salvation¹..... If you can reconcile disobedience, with either piety or holiness, (I do not care how you may cherish the sentiment) I shall still think it a very unholy, and impious alliance.... I affirm that the reason why they do not submit and be baptised into the name of Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of their sins, is, because they do not believe that Jesus is the Christ.... all that God has given us as revelation, is contained in the Bible, and when men do not believe all, or the whole of said revelation, they cannot be termed believers of it, and if there is a part of it which will, and may be put in the background, where is the line of demarcation, between what is, and what is not necessary to be believed in order to salvation?... Is this faith in that Book which contains neither too much nor too little? A word of which cannot fall to the ground, nay even the stars shall fall from heaven, sooner than his word return unto him void.... Not every one who saith unto me Lord, Lord shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father, who is in heaven."²

One of the "Christians," in 1835, writes to Stone that this spirit has "stealed the breasts of our brethren of all denominations against us. Had we taught the truth in the meekness of wisdom, a hundred fold more would have received it.... The young and inexperienced are generally foremost, and seem to concentrate /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, iv, p. 234.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger, iv, p. 270.

✓ concentrate religion in immersion and weekly communion.....

They breathe the very spirit of war, and they succeed so far that they get a great many people to hate them."¹

Barton Stone did all that he could to counteract the spirit represented by the letters we have quoted. Through the pages of the "Christian Messenger," he did his utmost to turn the movement from its legalistic tendency. He deeply regretted the bitter spirit that had been injected into their teachings. In 1835, he wrote: "Some of the brethren, who call themselves Disciples, we believe are also wrong. Of this I entertain no doubt. I fear, while some of them are zealously opposing a sectarian spirit, they suspect not themselves of being in the same spirit - while they are thundering against creeds, they may have formed a theory of notions, which they may consider infallible truth, and by which they may measure the religion of others, and denounce them as anti-Christians."²

Stone objected to the wholesale condemnation of the un-immersed. He continually called the attention of the people to the fact that christianity was not only a system to be adopted, but a life to be lived. He replied to Henshall's letter: "I confess if I am holy and pious now, I was so before I was immersed. If I was not so then, I am not now."³ In answer to the above quoted statement of the gentleman from Tennessee, Stone wrote: "Though we agree in the doctrine of baptism for remission, I dissent from your opinion. Did I believe as you do, then I must of necessity conclude that my former experience was a delusion - that I had never received the Spirit - that I never loved God, his service, nor his people. Were I convinced of this, I should be shut up in desperation, for I have received nothing /

1. Letter from Thomas Carr - Christian Messenger ix, pp.223-225.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, ix, p. 227.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger, iv, p. 271.

nothing new in experimental religion since I was immersed, unless it be the satisfaction received since I complied with what I was convinced was my duty.... Another reason for rejecting your opinion, is, because they who profess this doctrine are no better than those condemned by them - no more holiness in their lives - no more humility, and self denial. Talk no more of being washed from your sins by immersion, when we see you living in sin; and many of you living on the gains of oppressing the poor African."¹

He protested that those had certainly "run to an extreme... who insist upon baptism as the only assured evidence of the remission of sins. This indeed would exclude any divine communication or internal witness of the spirit in the heart as evidence."² Stone believed that thousands of christians, including himself,³ received the spirit of God and the assurance of salvation, before they were immersed. He also refused to admit the proposition upheld by Alexander Campbell, that all who, in faith, "were immersed, did, in the very instant in which he was put under the water,"⁴ receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. In opposition to this, in 1841, just three years before his death, Stone writes: "We all believe that many have been made new creatures after they have been baptised; for we are not so charitable as to think they never can be made new creatures afterwards."⁵

The influence of this position of Stone was soon felt with many of the leaders among the united people. We notice a change in Alexander Campbell. While he had never dogmatically assumed the extreme position adopted by some of his followers - that no unimmersed person would be saved - this conclusion was implied /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger vol. ix, pp. 221, 223.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger vol. vii, p. 19.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger vol. ix, p. 221.
4. Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 417.
5. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. xii, p. 47.

implied by them, from some of his statements. He had taught that immersion was the only means by which God remits sins in the New Testament. And while he always maintained this position with more or less tenacity, he soon comes to the more lenient attitude which was characteristic of Stone. In 1837, in answer to a lady who has written him asking whether or not "there are any Christians among the sects," he replied: "I cannot, therefore, make any one duty the standard of Christian state or character, not even immersion into the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and in my heart regard all that have been sprinkled in infancy without their knowledge and consent, as aliens from Christ and the well-grounded hope of heaven....Should I find a Pedo-baptist more intelligent in the Christian Scriptures, more spiritually minded, and more devoted to the Lord than a Baptist, or one immersed on a profession of the ancient faith, I could not hesitate a moment in giving the preference of my heart to him who loveth most. Did I act otherwise, I would be a pure sectarian, a Pharisee among Christians. Still I will be asked, How do I know that any one loved my Master but by his obedience to His commandments? I answer, In no other way. But mark, I do not substitute obedience to one commandment, for universal or even for general obedience. And should I see a sectarian Baptist or a Pedo-baptist more spiritually minded, more generally conformed to the requisitions of the Messiah, than one who precisely acquiesces with me in the theory or practice of immersion as I teach, doubtless the former rather than the latter would have my cordial approbation and love as a Christian. So I judge and so I feel. It is the image of Christ the Christian looks for and loves; and this does not consist in being exact in a few items, but in general devotion to the whole truth as far /

far as known. With me mistakes of the understanding and errors of the affections are not to be confounded. They are as distant as the poles. An angel may mistake the meaning of a commandment, but he will obey it in the sense in which he understands it....Many a good man has been mistaken.... There is no occasion, then, for making immersion on a profession of the faith, absolutely essential to a Christian....But to conclude for the present - he that claims for himself a license to neglect the least of all the commandments of Jesus, because it is possible for some to be saved, who, through insuperable ignorance or involuntary mistake, do neglect or transgress it; or he that wilfully neglects to ascertain the will of the Lord to the whole extent of his means and opportunities, because some who are defective in that knowledge may be Christians, is not possessed of the Spirit of Christ, and cannot be registered among the Lord's people."¹

Campbell was severely criticised for this liberal position that he had adopted. Against the various articles opposing his new stand, he thus defends himself: "Some of our brethren were too much addicted to denouncing the sects and representing them en masse as wholly aliens from the possibility of salvation - as wholly anti-Christian and corrupt....When I see a person who would die for Christ; whose brotherly kindness, sympathy, and active benevolence know no bounds but his circumstances; whose seat in the Christian assembly is never empty; whose inward piety and devotion are attested by punctual obedience to every known duty; whose family is educated in the fear of the Lord; whose constant companion is the Bible; I say, when I see such a one ranked amongst heathen and publicans, because /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, . 1337 - Quoted in Moore, History of the Disciples, pp. 347-350.

because he never happened to inquire, but always took it for granted that he had been scripturally baptised; and that, too, by one greatly destitute of all these public virtues, whose chief or exclusive recommendation is that he has been immersed, and that he holds a Scriptural theory of the gospel; I feel no disposition to flatter such a one, but rather to disabuse him of his error."¹

This spirit of forbearance is reflected in his new position toward admitting the unimmersed to communion in the Lord's Supper. We have noted that the "Christians" had adopted the policy of "neither invite nor debar." The churches had been quiet on the subject, leaving it largely as a matter of opinion, and to be decided by the local congregation. However, as we have before shown, Alexander Campbell had been inclined to admit only the immersed to the Supper. The subject was brought to the front again through the churches in England.

Glas, Sandeman, Walker, McLean, the Haldanes, and others, had advocated the restoration of the New Testament church, - much the same position first held by Alexander Campbell. In fact, these teachings were largely the source of the first phase of Campbell's reformatory principles. Wm. Jones was a leader among the Scotch Baptists. During the summer of 1833,² Peyton Wyatt, from Claysville, Washington county, Pennsylvania, who was in London studying art, attended the services conducted by Mr Jones at Windmill Street, Finsbury Square. Mr Wyatt was a member of the "Disciple" churches, and was enthusiastic in his praises of Campbell and his teachings. He explained the principles /

1. Campbell, Millennial Harbinger, 1837 - Quoted in Moore, History of the Disciples, p. 351.
2. In his autobiography, Jones gives the date as 1834, but this is evidently a mistake. The autobiography was not published until 1846, and the discrepancy was evidently due to a mistake in memory. The above reference is from Jones' Millennial Harbinger, and was written in 1835. (See Autobiography, p. 124 and Millennial Harbinger, i, p. 15.)

principles of reformation advocated by Campbell, and the order of public worship, which Jones remarks, "I found to correspond as nearly as may be with that practised among the denomination of Scotch Baptists in our country."¹ Jones was impressed when he learned that this Alexander Campbell was the same who had defended christianity against Robert Owen, for he had read the published debate with much interest. This incident led to a correspondence between Jones and Campbell, with the result that Jones began the editing of his "Millennial Harbinger," with the purpose of introducing the teachings of Campbell to the Baptists in England. This paper was continued for two years, until Jones found that he could not follow Campbell in his views of baptism for remission of sins, and his position on the holy spirit.² James Wallace of Nottingham, then began the publication of the "Christian Messenger" as an advocate of Campbell's principles.

It was through this correspondence with Wm. Jones that we get the new position of Campbell on the admittance of the unimmersed to the communion. In trying to ascertain the agreements and disagreements and in answer to Jones' question, "Do any of your churches admit unbaptised persons to communion?", Campbell had on January 1, 1835, replied: "Not one as far as known to me: I am at a loss to understand on what principle - by what law, precedent or license, any congregation founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone, could dispense with the practice of the primitive Church - with the commandment of the Lord and the authority of his Apostles."³ This is the same position noted in the articles written to Stone before the union of 1832. After Campbell's /

1. Jones, British Millennial Harbinger, vol. i, p. 16.
2. Jones, Autobiography, p. 125.
3. Jones, British Millennial Harbinger, vol. i, p. 80.

Campbell's new declaration toward the unimmersed, which had been set forth in his above quoted letter of 1837, we find him advocating a new position regarding the communion. During the Campbell-Rice debate, conducted in 1843, the young Presbyterian minister read this Jones letter to the audience, and asked Mr Campbell to reconcile it with his position. Mr Rice remarks: "Now is it not passing strange that Mr C. should tell us that he is well pleased to have Methodists, Presbyterians and others commune with him at the Lord's table, and yet that he should have told Mr Jones, of England, and published it in his Harbinger, that he and his churches admit no such persons to commune with them!!! I am happy to find him changing his ground, as we are to suppose he is now doing, and embracing more liberal principles!"¹

Campbell, in reply to Mr Rice, explains his position as neither open nor close communion. We quote from his address: "The gentleman has introduced an extract from my correspondence with Mr Jones of London, touching upon communion, which demands an observation or two..... The English Baptists very generally practice open communion, as they call it. They invite persons unbaptised to participate with them at the Lord's table. Now, the difference between them and our brethren, in cases where such persons occasionally commune with them, is this: They do not invite them, as such, to commune in the supper; but some of them sometimes say, that 'the table is the Lord's and not theirs'; and that, though they cannot invite any to partake of it, but those visibly and ostensibly, by their own baptism, the Lord's people, still, not presuming to say that those only are the Lord's people, in this day of division, we debar no consistent professor of the faith of any party, who, upon his own responsibility, chooses to partake with us. Thus we throw the /

1. Campbell-Rice Debate, p. 791.

✓ the responsibility upon him, while the English Baptists, in many instances, take it upon themselves."¹

This broadening position on the communion, called forth some remarks from various writers. In an article entitled "A Campbell's change of Views," printed in the British "Christian Messenger and Reformer," for December, 1844, the problem was discussed. Again in 1845, the British journal of the Churches of Christ gives the evolution of Campbell's views on the communion question; and remarks that he "now advocates the propriety of not rejecting from the Lord's table an unbaptised believer. This he once opposed."² The British paper quotes Campbell's defence: "I am still pleased, indeed, to see Pedobaptists of good christian character occasionally take upon themselves the responsibility to break the loaf with us in commemoration of their love to their Saviour and to us, because such persons, on a more intimate acquaintance, generally become disciples of Christ, or withdraw from such intimacy. Cannot the editor of the Christian Magazine distinguish between an act of hospitality to a stranger, and the practice of inviting all strangers to become members of the family ... between saying amen to a christian prayer, and acquiescing in all the ceremonies of the Church of England! I am also of opinion, that I have more good reasons and scriptural authority for refusing communion ✓ with many immersed persons than for refusing christian communion with some unimmersed but very exemplary followers of the Lamb."³

Thus we see Alexander Campbell adopting a broader position in his regard and treatment of unimmersed christians. He had made a long stride toward the policy of forbearance that was, from /

1. Campbell-Rice Debate, p. 798.

2. British Christian Messenger and Family Magazine, vol. i.

3. British Christian Messenger and Family Magazine, 1845, vol. i, pp. 39-41.

from the beginning, advocated by Barton Stone. On the other hand, we are to observe that Stone has moved toward the Campbell position, until they have practically reached an agreement on the questions of restricted communion and church membership. It is more correct to say that Campbell has met Stone, than that Stone has met Campbell, on this compromise between the two opposing attitudes that we noted before the Union of 1832. We say that Campbell met Stone, because it was Stone that first made the change.

As early as September, 1833 - but a year and a half after the union - we find Stone declaring against receiving the un-immersed as members of the church. This declaration was in contradiction to the early policy of "open membership" which was practised by the "Christians." Stone came to this new position not because he had concluded that the pious could not be saved without baptism, but because he was convinced that baptism was the door to the kingdom on earth, or the church. Even before the union he had taught that baptism was the initiation into the church. We quote from an article written in 1830: "To be baptised into Jesus Christ, or into his name, signifies our union with him as our head, and leader; and each member united with him, the head, is united with one another, and all constitute the one body, of which Christ is the head, the life, the all in all....From these remarks it is evident that we become united with the one body, or become members of the church or kingdom of Christ on earth, by baptism. This is the doctrine of the Fathers of the first centuries; this is the doctrine of the reformers of the church of England - of the Methodists - of the Presbyterians, and of the Baptists. This, it is believed, will be disputed by none."¹ In an article /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iv, p. 161.

article published during 1832, we see him repeating this conviction, and, perhaps indicating the position he is soon to take. He defines the change at baptism, as one of state and not of heart; and compares it with the oath of allegiance which is taken upon acquiring citizenship. He writes: "So, the generality of professed christians believe that the divinely instituted door of entering into the church is baptism - (we call it immersion, as the learned of all denominations agree). This action of immersion only changes the state of a person; - before baptism he had not been legally a member of the church, or fellow citizen with the saints in the kingdom - he had not been adopted as a son or daughter, because he had not been born of water. We acknowledge immersion to be a divinely instituted means, in connection with faith and repentance, of salvation, remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit."¹

As stated above, in 1833, he takes his stand against receiving the unimmersed into their churches. We quote from this article: "We neither invite nor debar from our communion, any orderly christian of any name....In this we act more liberally and generously than those who object against us. But we will not receive the unimmersed as members of the church. And will they who object this against us, receive any person not christened in some mode, into the church? Will the Presbyterians or Methodists receive the Quakers into their churches? The Quakers who deny water baptism entirely? They will not. Why? Because they all hold baptism to be the door into the church. According to the law of Christ, we cannot consider any unbaptised or unimmersed person, a member of the church. Do we, therefore, unchristianise him? Do the Presbyterians and Methodists unchristianise the Quakers, because they are not christened /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vi, p. 61.

christened in some mode, and therefore viewed by them as having entered through the door into the church? No; they believe many of the Quakers are honest, good christians, though they be not members of Christ's church on earth. So we view many of our unimmersed brethren. They have charity for the Quakers, because they are ignorant of this duty of being baptised. Did they know their duty, if christians, they would do it. So we think of our unimmersed brethren: and therefore love them, and endeavour to convince them of their error....In me it would be presumption to say which of God's laws are essential, and which non-essential; which we must observe, and which we may not observe; which are absolutely and indispensably required to be done, and which are not. All the doctrine and laws of God are divine; and surely they are deemed by infinite wisdom necessary, or they would not have been given..... Men from whom better things should be expected, now talk boldly and irreverently of non-essential doctrines. If the Lord command the sinner to be baptised, and should the sinner reply, 'Lord, it is not necessary,' would we not shudder at his irreverent boldness? Should he say, 'Be immersed for the remission of sin'; and the sinner should reply, 'Lord it is not essential in what way water is applied; for a drop is as good as an ocean.' Would not this be wickedly replying against God? 'And why, Lord, for the remission of sins, when thou canst remit without baptism?' Would the humble creature use such language? No; yet how many are there who, by their conduct speak thus plainly. We are not to make them paramount to Bible doctrine. Let him never accuse another of being uncharitable."¹

These brief extracts from the many articles from the pen of Barton Stone give his final position on baptism as a requisite for /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vii, pp. 260-264. See also Christian Messenger vol. viii, pp. 50-52.

for church membership.

As a strictly immersionist body, the "Christians" or "Disciples" as they were interchangeably called, made a very rapid growth. Their presentation of the gospel plan of salvation appealed to the people. The semi-Pelagian doctrine of faith taught by all of their ministers, was very attractive to those who had been, for so long a time, confused by the creedal doctrines of grace and its mysteries. The leaders were tireless in their efforts, and won many from the world and from the "sects." When Stone moved to Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1834, he had found two churches, a "Christian" and a "Disciple." He refused to unite with either until they first united with each other.¹ From that time Jacksonville was the headquarters for the united movement in that state, and Illinois rapidly became one of the strongholds of the cause. By 1837, the principles of the reformation had been firmly planted in Missouri, mainly through the efforts of ministers who had been "Christians" before the union.² Other states were entered by the travelling evangelists. Kentucky continued to be one of the centres of strength; in 1842, there were forty thousand members in the state.³ While the increase was more rapid in the Mississippi valley, which is still the Disciple stronghold, gains were made in all parts of the country. In 1846, the total membership in the United States was estimated at two hundred thousand.⁴

However, many of these new churches represented somewhat of a mushroom growth. The ministers were evangelists, and went wherever they could plant a new church; they would stay a few weeks until they had gathered together a number of converts, organise them into a church, and pass on to the next place. These /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, p. 339.
2. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, p. 341.
3. Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii, p. 493.
4. John Rogers, Biography of J.T. Johnson, pp. 244, 245.

These evangelists were capable men, generally the ministers that had been trained in other communions and had been converted to the reformation principles. But the churches were not properly cared for after the departure of the evangelist. Campbell had insisted on the system of elders, one of which was the president but whose position was the same as the others. For a picture of the conditions in the churches, we quote an extract from Moore's Disciples of Christ: "Where there were men capable of performing the functions of the elder's office, the churches got on very well; but in most cases the men who were appointed to the eldership had few if any of the qualifications described in the New Testament; and the result was that these churches would have been better off without any elders at all; and yet, one of the features of this system was that every church should itself be set in order, and that, too, with a plurality of elders. In some churches there was at least one man who might have been useful in overseeing the flock, but from the very beginning of the movement the 'one man system,' as it was called, was considered as a relic of the apostasy, and could not therefore be tolerated for a moment. Mr Campbell himself began to see some of the fruits of his own teaching. In the Christian Baptist he had flayed the clergy with such tremendous vigour that his own people would have nothing to do with the system which seemed to recognise the 'one man power.'"¹

The Campbell teachings also reacted against the proper support of the evangelists. So much had been written about "hirelings" that both the ministers and the people were very sensitive where money was concerned. Some generous brother would slip a few coins to the minister when no one was looking, as though it was a shady transaction. Food and clothing would be /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, p. 342.

be sent to the minister's family, but there was always the attitude of giving alms to the deserving poor.¹ Samuel Rogers, one of the "Christian" ministers, tells us of this period:

"Preaching had never been a profitable business to me, pecuniarily; but it now became, I may say fairly, a starving business."²

Barton Stone deeply regretted the condition into which the churches had fallen,³ and ably re-enforced by D. P. Henderson, his co-editor of the "Christian Messenger," he attempted to correct the state of affairs.

Stone insisted "that every church should have a bishop,"⁴ and that he may be quite correctly called a "minister,"⁵ for no "term is better understood in our language than 'ministry,' as meaning persons employed in the public affairs of a kingdom, or state."⁶ However, if no minister was present, the church should "meet and read the scriptures, sing, pray and exhort one another."⁷ However, they must not ordain improper persons, or persons who were incapable of teaching. A congregation might have men who were qualified to rule in the church as elders, and still not be able to teach the congregation. Stone wrote: "From /

1. Samuel Rogers, Autobiography, pp. 109, 110.
2. Samuel Rogers, Autobiography, p. 130.
3. During 1843, he made an extended tour through Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, for a last visit to the churches and his old friends. Upon his return he wrote of the state of the churches: "There has been more labour expended in reaping down the harvest, than in preserving it when reaped - there has been more care to lengthen the cords, than to strengthen the stakes - more zeal to proselyte, than to build up in the faith and hope of the gospel. Without piety and devotion, religion can only be nominal - zeal for proselyting may exist, when true piety cannot be found." (Christian Messenger vol. xiii, p. 130.)
4. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. viii, p. 153.
5. Campbell had insisted upon use of term Elder or Bishop, and had declared the designation "Reverend" to be an "abomination." (Campbell, Christian Baptist, Burnett Edition, p. 17.)
6. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vi, p. 374.
7. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. ii, p. 72.

"From the impression that every elder is a bishop, and that a bishop is a teacher, the cause of truth suffers, and our enemies blaspheme our profession on this too just ground. This evil must be remedied and speedily. An old man may be a good ruler, but a poor preacher. I have observed that when old men without ministerial qualifications begin to preach, they generally become more vain, more assuming, and more tiresome than the young. This may appear strange, yet I have accounted for it on this principle - they substitute age for authority, and long experience for good sense."¹ Again he quote of the ministerial requirements: "If such a person with such qualifications be not found in a particular church or congregation, that church must not exceed her instructions, by conferring the office on one not qualified. This is an evil we have long deplored, and one from which we must reform. Better is it to depend on other churches, or, indeed, to live without a bishop, than to act in opposition to the plan of God."²

D. P. Henderson backed Stone up in this propaganda for pastors in the churches, and continued to work for this policy after the death of Stone. In 1844, just a few months before Stone's death, Henderson wrote in the "Christian Messenger": "Many there are throughout our States, lately built up, and are now left by the Evangelists a prey for the world, the flesh and the Devil. It is impossible for the same Evangelist to return and teach them as they should be taught. The territory over which he is to travel is too extensive. How many young men there are, who, if educated and prepared for public life, would swell the ranks of our teaching brethren and prove a blessing to the church and to the world....The fact is we must have preachers. Sinners /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. xiii, p. 68.
2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vi, p. 276.

Sinners cannot be converted without them.... We have experimented long enough, I think, to satisfy the most sceptical, that the church will never prosper either in its own spiritual growth, or increase in numbers without public teachers."¹

The "Christian Messenger" was also the staunch advocate of a properly salaried ministry. We quote again from Henderson; "It is true there are many who profess to be governed by the Bible who are unwilling to hire and support preachers. We hire men to teach our children and pay them for it; but those who object to paying for teaching men and women how to act that they may enter into heaven, never dream of asking the services of a school master free."².... He presents in dialogue conversation, the story of two ministers who have just about come to the place where they must give up preaching because their families are not provided for, and who are not willing to be denominated "hirelings." Henderson then continues: "The brother, no doubt, who according to his own statement has been preaching forty years, knows very well that he could have not lived so long and laboured all the time in the Lord's vineyard without food and raiment. If he were not hired by the church, he was certainly hired by the world. Subsistence he must have for himself and family, and the church either gave it or he must get it from the world. Aye, I think I hear him say, I did get it from the world, but 'those hands ministered to my wants - I worked and made an honest living and preached too.' Very well, brother this is all right. God approves an honest industrious christian. But did you preach all the time? If you had, could you not have done more good? Could you not have /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. xiv. p. 14.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. xiv. p. 13.

have saved more sinners? Certainly, is the reply, if I had had the means to support myself, I would certainly have done it. Well suppose your brethren had offered you the means, and told you to go and preach the word to sinners, that they would take care of your family while you were gone, would it not have been your duty to preach all the time? 'But they would not do it - I could not trust them. I had told them that the hireling system was wrong, and so they never offered me anything.' Well, my brother, here is the very difficulty I wish to see removed. I wish to convince all my brethren that they should see that their preacher lacks for nothing, and if he have useful talents keep him always employed.... Men, I remark, cannot preach without food and raiment for themselves and families. The brethren must either give it to them, else they must work for it. But you seem to have a peculiar dislike for the word hire. Brother, it is a scriptural word. Paul says 'the laborer is worthy of his hire.' I do not believe in enriching and making a preacher proud... nor do I believe in a man spending everything he has, raising his family in destitution, and preaching all the time. I do not believe God will ever reward either. Both cases are extremes."¹

There were many of the church leaders who agreed with Henderson that they had "experimented long enough," and that the "Ancient order" was not suited to the modern world. Alexander Campbell began to see the results of his own early position. We quote again from Moore; "His reformatory movement was now reaping some of the results of his own teaching. He had helped to develop an extreme individualism, and while this was perhaps unavoidable during the earlier days of the movement /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. xiv. p. 182.

movement, it was now a factor that had to be dealt with, and it was frequently a threatening factor, so far as the unity of the movement was concerned. In pleading for liberty the Disciples came perilously close to anarchy, and it required all the tact and ability of the leaders of the movement to bring order out of confusion."¹

Barton Stone had always been opposed to too much individualism in the government of the church. He not only advocated a salaried competent ministry, but he thought that these ministers should be made responsible to each other, and to the religious communion in which they ministered. He taught that co-operation was the life of any movement, and always opposed an extreme congregationalism. Trained as a Presbyterian minister, he was thoroughly in sympathy with the Presbyterian form of government. He had always felt that one of the greatest weaknesses in the movement with which he was associated was in that there was no way in which to protect the churches against incapable and sometimes immoral preachers. We have seen how the proposal to form some plan of ministerial control, which was agreed to in the first days of the movement, was frustrated by the demand by Marshall and Thompson, that they also draw up an authoritative creedal statement of belief. Barton Stone's own attitude in this regard, is so clearly set forth in an article from one of his fellow ministers - and one who was wholly in sympathy with him in the early attempt to draw up a plan of government² - that we quote here from this article which Stone presents through the "Christian Messenger". Kincade writes: "The elders are in no part of the scripture commanded /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, p. 312.

2. Stone states: "When Marshall, Thompson and others endeavoured to introduce another creed besides the scriptures, and had persuaded many of the propriety, I with R. Dooley, Kincade and many others stood up boldly and protested against it." (Christian Messenger vol vii. p. 4.

commanded to obey the churches, but are authorised to teach, exhort, command, and rebuke them with all authority. Peter commands the elders all to be subject one to another..... In these duties they have to work together, as labourers in harvest or as masons at a building It is impossible for men to be subject to each other in joint labour without agreeing on some plan of co-operation, and that minute the elders meet, and agree on any plan, they are holding a conference They cannot act in concert without counsel; they cannot co-operate in executing a plan, when no plan is laid. For one man to lay the plan, and oblige the next to execute it, would be episcopacy. For any individual church, that pleases to oblige the elders to execute her plans of ministerial operations, would be the basest of usurpation, and make the general church a monster with many heads But for the elders in virtue of their office to be standing members of conference, or presbytery, all on perfect equality, and always ready to act, with subjection to each other in the duties of their office, is the government of the christian ministry, laid down in the New Testament ... The preachers in the bounds of one, or two hundred miles, are as intimately connected in their religious duties, as are private christians in a particular neighbourhood, and there is as much necessity for the former to be united in conference, as for the latter to be joined in a church".¹

We find somewhat of this same attitude in the writings of John T. Johnson who was for several years, most intimately associated with Barton Stone in the ministry, and as co-editor of the Messenger. Johnson expressed his indignation because certain of the churches had been imposed on by evangelists who were comparatively unknown, and who proved to be unscrupulous men. He /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger. vol ii pp. 75-77.

He remarked that such experiences should induce them "to adhere more rigidly to the instructions of the apostles, in selecting and ordaining evangelists. The evangelist should feel it his indispensable duty to have his letters of credit and authority always at command; and he should never approach a strange neighbourhood without producing them".¹ Johnson on another occasion writes: "Can we get along without consultation and co-operation? If we can, there is no need of congregations.... At the very commencement of the christian kingdom, the apostles were in consultation and co-operation. The history in the Acts of Apostles, is a continuation of the same, together with the consultation and co-operation of the congregations. There have been many departures from the word of truth, and of course many corruptions. But we have come to the word of God, and that alone, for our government in these and other matters".²

John T. Johnson proved to be the most ardent advocate of co-operation and organisation among the leaders of the movement. By 1840 the people began to recognise the need for a closer alliance between the churches; as well as for pastoral supervision in the local congregations, and for some control over the itinerant evangelists. Before the union with the "Reformers", the "Christians" had held their conferences in which they advised with each other, and formed their plans of work. The "Reformers", when they left the Baptist church, had turned the Baptist Associations which existed among them, into "yearly meetings". These "yearly meetings" gradually began to conduct business of a general nature, and to authorise the sending out of evangelists. However, every step in this direction was opposed /

1. John Rogers, Biography of J.T. Johnson, pp. 148, 149.

2. " " " " " p. 194.

opposed by some who were fearful that an ecclesiasticism would be developed. Campbell's early articles in the "Christian Baptist" were constantly appealed to, as authority for their position that the local congregation was the only organisation permissible under the "ancient order of things".¹

The first co-operative society among the united people - the American Christian Bible Society - was organised in 1845; but it was opposed by many of the super-sound brethren, because it was a society and not a church. In 1849 a general Convention was called and the American Christian Missionary Society was organised. It was John T. Johnson who offered the resolution for its formation,² and "perhaps no other man did more for the American Christian Missionary Society than he did".³ Alexander Campbell had entirely given up his old position that not a cent nor a prayer should be given through any society, for he urged the need of both the convention and the missionary society. To those who objected to this innovation he replied: "To ask for a positive precept for everything in the details of duties growing out of the various exigencies of the Christian Church and the world, would be quite as irrational and unscriptural as to ask for an immutable wardrobe or a uniform standard of apparel for all persons and ages in the Christian Church In all things pertaining to public interest, not of Christian faith, piety or morality, the church of Jesus Christ in its aggregate character is left free and unshackled by any apostolic authority. This is the great point which I assert as of capital importance in any great conventional movement or co-operation in advancing the public interests of a common salvation".⁴

The /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ. p. 417.
2. " " " " p. 440
3. " " " " p. 469.
4. Garrison, The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century p. 105.

The organization of the missionary society was the beginning of a better day among the Disciples. This progressive spirit was shown in other ventures which they made. Pastors were being recognized as a proper office in the church. There was a realization of the necessity for educating a ministry. The first generation of ministers had been educated men - many of them from the Presbyterian church. These men were growing old, and a new leadership must be developed. This led to the foundation of colleges where leaders might be trained. Bacon College¹ was organized in Georgetown, Kentucky in 1838. Bethany College was founded in 1841, with Alexander Campbell as its first President. In 1849 Hiram College was established in Ohio; James Garfield, later President of the United States, was the second President of this institution. These were but the beginnings for the extended educational system that was built up as a very important part of the work of the Disciples of Christ.

While it is not within the limits of this thesis to give a history of the Disciples of Christ, we perhaps should note that this new spirit in the communion was never unanimous. That could hardly be expected. Two parties began to form; they were called the "Progressives" and the "Conservatives." The "Conservatives" stood on the early Campbell platform and appealed to the "Christian Baptist" as an ally in their cause. They insisted that "a church must not employ a regular preacher, must not use an organ as an aid to singing, must not take up a collection for the Missionary Society, must not accept contributions to its treasury from any who were not members..... The New Testament says never a word about a missionary /

1. Bacon College grew into Transylvania College, now at Lexington.

missionary society, nor any society; it is equally silent respecting organs and salaried pastors..... such things are wrong, because unsupported by apostolic precept and primitive example."¹ Heresy hunting became the order of the day. Isaac Errett, while pastor of a church in Detroit, had allowed the word "Reverend" on his name plate, and had printed a "Synopsis" of the principles for which his congregation stood. Errett soon became the recognized leader of the "liberal" party. Benjamin Franklin and Moses Lard, stood for the "ancient order" and through their respective religious publications, staunchly defended the faith. Lard, through his "Quarterly" denounced Errett's "Synopsis". We quote from him: "There is not a sound man in our ranks who has seen the Synopsis" that has not felt scandalised by it. I wish we possessed even one decent apology for its appearance. It is a deep offence against the brotherhood - an offence tossed into the teeth of the people who for forty years have been working against the divisive and evil tendency of creeds..... We are told that this "Declaration" is not to be taken as a creed.... This "Synopsis" is a creed without the appropriate label - a genuine snake in the grass, wearing a honeyed name.... For all these symptoms of degeneracy our brotherhood will feel something more than mere regret. They will feel profoundly ashamed."²

Many felt the need of some force to counteract this reactionary movement. The death of Stone had been a great loss to the progressive spirit that was so rapidly developing. This demand led Isaac Errett in 1866 to begin the publication of the "Christian Standard." The first issue contained the notice /

1. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett, p. 228.

2. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, pp. 511, 512.

notice of the death of Alexander Campbell. We find now, a second generation of leaders coming to the front. Franklin stood for the "ancient order" and occupied largely the early Campbell position; Errett adopted the former policy of Stone, in working for co-operation among the churches, and union among the denominations. With Stone, he believed that christian union would be brought about, not by pointing out the differences of opinion, but by constantly emphasising the points of agreement among the various religious communions.¹ The majority of the churches gradually adopted the progressive positions; those who could not conscientiously do so, refused to enter into the co-operative movements, and 'walked with them no more.'

The "Churches of Christ" to-day form a mighty communion. It ranks among the leading Protestant bodies of America. It has an educated ministry, standard colleges and universities, and beautiful church buildings. Long ago these people recognised that methods are not divine. Their leaders are quite agreed that it is neither possible nor desirable to reproduce in detail, the conditions and order of the primitive Jerusalem Church.

There is not, nor never has been, an entire unanimity in the aims and purposes of the leaders among the Disciples. Philip Schaff has truly said: "Wherever there is life and motion in a denomination or sect, there will be at least two tendencies of thought and action.....It is only stagnant waters that never run and overflow, and corpses that never move."² There is still an uncertainty, and a division of opinion as to whether the communion is standing for the restoration of the primitive /

1. Moore, History of the Disciples of Christ, p. 546.
2. Schaff, Apostolic Christianity, vol. i, p. 336.

primitive church, or a union of all christians on a common scriptural basis. There is much talk about "our plea," and some difference of opinion as to just what that "plea" is. We quote, as a recent statement, an article by a leader in the "Churches of Christ," entitled "Is our plea sufficient," or "What is our Plea?" He writes:-

"Sometimes it is said to be a plea for a restoration of New Testament Christianity in its ordinances, its doctrine and its fruits, and this in order to the unity of all who profess the name of Christ. It is really a plea for the sovereignty of Christ, for the authority of his word, for the unity of his people, and all that in order that the world may be evangelised.

"Accepting the authority of the Christ and of His word, we seek an abandonment of all party names and spirit, the forsaking of all human creeds (even the Nicene and misnamed Apostle's Creed), and we would wear only the names authorised by the Head of the church, and take Him only as our creed.

"Following the teaching of the Word, we would proclaim the simple gospel, its facts, conditions and promises, and we would observe the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper as enjoined by Christ. We would repudiate all ecclesiastical titles, courts and rule, and would return to the simple priesthood of all believers, and the self-government of each congregation. In short, we seek the abandonment of all that is denominational, and a return to all that is Christ-given.

"That plea is simple, brotherly, democratic, true; it makes for certainty and unity in religion; it can sweep away all racial and social distinctions. We call it 'our plea,' but it is only ours in the sense that it is ours to advocate; it is really the Lord's plea; it is divine."¹

The /

1. Article by Thomas Haggard of Australia - Christian Standard, Oct. 15, 1927.

The "Churches of Christ" in Britain - having grown out of the Scotch Baptist movement, and never having felt the Stone influence - naturally conform more closely to the early Campbell position. They have always repudiated the "one-man ministry," and are ministered to by a plurality of "elders" or "bishops" selected from each local congregation. These "bishops are either professional men, commercial men, artisans, or independent gentlemen, who...have invariably vouchsafed their services entirely unremunerated."¹ The membership of those churches is made up, without an exception, of immersed believers. They are more exclusive in their worship than the American churches, permitting only the immersed to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to assist in the financial work of the church.²

The "Churches of Christ," "Christian Churches," or "Disciples of Christ," as they are interchangeably called in America, have generally advocated the final position as set forth by Barton Stone - and as continued by Isaac Errett and others - in recognising the pastoral office, and, although insisting on an immersed membership, in adopting the "neither invite nor debar" policy in regard to communing with the un-immersed.

In recent years there has been a growing tendency toward the practice of "open-membership" in the American churches; and on this subject controversy has been heated. Those who lean strongly to charity, take the early Stone position, while the stricter party stand on the platform of his matured convictions. We present the two opposing views as they are being discussed in the councils of the "Disciples" to-day. Peter Ainslie, editor /

1. Ainsworth, Sydney Black, p. 36.

2. Ainsworth, Sydney Black, pp. 37, 38 - See also "What Churches of Christ stand for," by Wm. Robinson, Birmingham, 1926.

editor of the "Christian Union Quarterly,"¹ and the generally recognised representative of the "Disciples" in interdenominational conferences on christian union, writes: "I see no reason whatever for alarm among the Disciples because there is a growing sentiment among us toward open membership. It does not involve the abandoning of immersion, for in my own work I am immersing as freely as ever and believe in it as heartily as ever, but it does give freedom to others, and I suppose there will never be any great number of people coming to the Disciples because of the practice of open membership. In the instance of divided homes, where husband or wife want to be with the family, and yet cannot see immersion as we see it, it does make this possible, and I do not think it is fair to look upon those brethren as being any less loyal to Christ than those who practise immersion, lest we drop into the error of being pharisaical by putting emphasis upon definitions and forms, which was what Christ appeared to have dissented from very severely. I have no quarrel with those Disciples who dissent from my position on this matter, and at the same time I am very much pleased with the working of open membership in my own local work. It is a growing sentiment and I have no doubt in a few years it will be generally accepted by the Disciples if we do not quarrel about it too much."²

An editorial comment on the above quoted extract, presents the opposite position: "The impracticability of this situation is obvious. It indicates a serious confusion of essentials and non-essentials. It infers that the ordinance of Christian baptism, to which Christ said all of his disciples must submit, is nothing more than ritual and ceremony which Jewish legalists were /

1. See list of members of Lausanne Conference, Bate, Faith and Order, London, 1927, p. 508.
2. Printed in the Christian Standard, October 15, 1927.

were scrupulous to observe. If Christ thought ceremonial observations were non-essential (as evidently he did), why, then, should He have ordained that all of His disciples must submit to a similar ceremony. Obviously, Christian baptism is not anything like the ceremonies of the Jewish religion. It is something entirely different and distinct.....Furthermore, why should Christ have commanded His disciples to preach the gospel and baptise, if by loyally obeying His command in spirit and truth they became Pharisaical? Those who have not been baptised certainly need to be taught that the Master demands a full expression of complete inner submission. He who has submitted within, will not hesitate when it comes to an outer act, if he is shown the way of the Lord more perfectly. Open membership indicates an ignoring of the command of Christ to just such an extent in that it recognises a human substitute as something just as good!.....They who are carefully instructed by faithful preachers of the Word, and who are always eager to know more perfectly the way of the Lord, will not hesitate to obey Christ's commands if they are fully resigned to Him, irrespective of what others may think of their former status among believers. Alexander and Thomas Campbell both had been preachers in the Presbyterian Church, and yet they gladly went down into the watery grave when they, too, learned the way of the Lord more perfectly. Willingness to be obedient to Christ in all things is certainly a qualification for membership in the household of faith."¹

The leaders in the British "Churches of Christ" have often, with some force, argued that open membership is the logical conclusion of the "neither invite nor debar" policy in regard to admittance to the Lord's Supper. To give their viewpoint, we quote /

1. Christian Standard, October 15, 1927.

quote from the "Christian Advocate, the Organ of Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland." They thus comment on the American church problem: "In the American 'Christian Evangelist' Dr F.D. Kershner discusses the Logic of Open Membership. It appears that 'The Herald of Gospel Liberty,' the official organ of a body of people in America which came into existence through the work of Barton W. Stone,¹ who is well known to readers as an associate of Alexander Campbell, has been dealing with the tendency among a certain section of Disciples towards what is called 'open membership.' Open membership means the admission into the membership of the Church of those who have not been immersed. The editor of the 'Herald' describes this tendency as 'heading backward.'

"Dr Kershner in his reply compares the numerical progress of the two bodies which have been making their appeal to the American people for about the same length of time. During more than a century the Christian Connection, as the one is called, has 'built up a membership of something over one hundred thousand on the platform which they have proclaimed.' The Disciples during the same period have grown to nearly a million and a half. This he calls the best reply to the contention of the editor. We cannot think from what we know of Dr Kershner that he means to carry his argument to its logical conclusion. If so, we should have to conclude that those communions whose appeal proved more popular than that of the Disciples had more of truth on their side.

"The Herald evidently contended that the logical outcome of 'open communion' is 'open membership.' We do not think Dr Kershner's answer disposes of that argument. He says that
{those /

1. This refers to that section of the "Christians" that did not enter into the union with the Disciples. They are known as the "Christian Church" or "Christian Connection," and were represented at Lausanne by G.C. Ender. (See Bate, Faith and Order, London, 1927, p. 512.

'those who do not practise open membership accept the vital Christian character and life of their paedo-baptist brethren just as fully as the open-membership advocates. What they object to is the formal correctness of their paedo-baptist position as embodied in the practices of christening and affusion.' Well, we all recognise gladly and thankfully the Christian character and life of all who love our one Lord, and who walk in the way of His will as they understand it. But we cannot agree that affusion practised on infants who can have no intelligent part in the act is the baptism that our Lord instituted and the New Testament practised. In this we feel sure Dr Kershner will agree with us. If it were only a question of 'formal correctness' surely open membership would be the only logical position."¹

The position of the "Disciples of Christ" as a separate religious communion has been an evolution. They have been an instructive experiment in christian union. To-day they follow neither Alexander Campbell nor Barton Stone. We have shown how they very early outgrew one of Campbell's foundational principles as set forth in his insistence on the "ancient order of things" in the worship of the church. Neither do they entirely follow Stone. They co-operate in the sending of missionaries, and other brotherhood enterprises, but there is still an independent congregationalism that Stone seriously deprecated. There is still with them, as one of their recognised weaknesses - as is true in all extremely congregational religious bodies - no authoritative means for the control of the ministry, and the protection of the churches against unscrupulous men. It has been too easy for ministers of pleasing personalities but doubtful consecration, who have been discredited in one /

1. Christian Advocate, February 19, 1926.

one congregation, to impose themselves upon a distant but uninformed group of trusting brethren. The Disciples still talk of the "Restoration plea," but they do not mean by that, the detailed restoration of the primitive church, which was once in the mind of Alexander Campbell. The other emphasis of their plea, the reunion of christians on a common scriptural basis, has been weakened by the recent adoption of the name "Disciple," as a party name; and, some contend, will be further weakened if the policy of "open membership" is generally adopted. In the past, their argument has been that they have insisted only on the "common scriptural ground." They have urged that scholarship in all religious denominations admits that immersion was the baptism taught and practised by the early church, and that ^{only} upon that position will christians ever agree. They have contended that leaders of every party love the name "Christian," and upon that name only will they ever unite. They have insisted that the plea for the reunion of all christians on a common scriptural basis is the only excuse for their existence as a separate people, and that when that position is relinquished, they become only another of the already too numerous sects of a divided christendom. A certain school of thought in the communion is implying that they are a "disappearing brotherhood"; others object to this implication, believing that they still have a definite message for the religious world, and that they should not "disappear" until divided christendom arrives at that common scriptural position, to which it is so rapidly approaching. Then, will they unanimously assent to the exalting declaration recently made by one of their representatives, before that august assembly in the Swiss Cathedral: "I am willing that my denomination shall be forgotten if thereby may be hastened the unity of the Church of our Lord. That denomination is most prophetic that is willing to disappear for /

for Christ's sake - to go to its disappearance as deliberately as Christ went to His crucifixion."¹

1. From the address by Peter Ainslie. Bate, Faith and Order, p. 342.



BARTON W. STONE.

CHAPTER X.

AN ESTIMATE OF BARTON WARREN STONE.

We have studied with considerable detail the religious history of Barton Stone and the movements with which he was associated, but have said little in the nature of an evaluation of the man himself. Realizing that biographers often present to the world a character whom his closest friends would not altogether recognize, we have preferred to let him speak for himself through the many quotations from his writings. But remembering the old adage, "A man is what he is in the dark," and that many a great leader in things spiritual as well as things temporal, is with good reason, not revered by his intimates as he is by the public, we shall attempt a brief portrayal of the man, Barton Warren Stone.

We see him on his first appearance at Cane Ridge, Kentucky in 1796, as a young man of twenty-four, with ^{auburn} hair, blooming cheeks, smooth and handsome features, animated and piercing eye, and a quick and dignified step.^{1.}

Barton Stone was twice married. In 1801, he married Elizabeth Campbell. Her death, in May, 1810, left him with the care of several small children. In October, 1811, he married Celia W. Bowen, who was his faithful companion for thirty-three years, or until the time of his own death in 1844. John Rogers pictures for us his family life: "In the domestic and private walks of life, where men act under least restraint - where they develop their true principles, there he shone with peculiar lustre, as the embodiment of every /

1. John Rogers, Biography of Stone, p. 85.

every private and domestic virtue. As a husband, he was kind, devoted, tender, obliging, faithful; as a father, he was fond and attentive; he lived to promote the happiness of his family. Never man loved the domestic circle more than he. He carefully brought up his children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; night and morning asking the divine blessing upon his family, and committing and commending himself and them to the care and protection of the Heavenly Father. His was truly a house of prayer - his a Joshua's resolution: 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' The writer of this sketch was much about the house of the venerated Stone, for many, many years; and it affords him peculiar pleasure to say, he never heard him speak a harsh or unkind word to any member of his family; nor does he remember to have seen him angry, during an acquaintance of a quarter of a century. In patience he possessed his soul. He had learned in the school of Christ the invaluable art of self-government. For he knew that 'he that hath no rule over his own spirit, is like a city broken down, and without walls;' already almost ruined by the violence of his passions and appetites: and constantly exposed to utter destruction: while 'he who ruleth his own spirit, is better than he who taketh a city.'¹

Stone was very strong in his domestic affections, and always refused to engage in any enterprise that kept him much away from his own home circle. He was also very much devoted to his friends, and particularly to the tried and true friends of long standing. He was hospitable both to friend and stranger, and in his ~~saave~~ dignified manner, made all feel perfectly at ease in his presence. As a neighbour, he was respected /

1. Rogers, Stone's Autobiography, pp. 248, 249.

respected and admired, for he made no personal enemies, and was fair in his dealings with all men. He was conscientious in his business relations, considering that as a christian, and above all, as a minister, he must never fail to meet a just obligation.

Barton Stone was very much opposed to the system of human slavery by which he was environed during the greater part of his life. Having been born in Maryland, his home was a slave-holding home, for his mother owned her black servants. His childhood and youth were spent in Virginia and North Carolina, both slave-owning communities. Kentucky, too, was a stronghold for the slavery sentiment. It was during his visit to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1797, while soliciting funds for the establishment of a Presbyterian school in Kentucky, that he came in contact with conditions that determined him to oppose human slavery. Here he saw wealthy men, living in beautiful homes, professing christianity and engaged in religious conversation; while all around them were the worst forms of slavery - negroes wearing iron collars and chained to their work, while they were being urged to greater effort by the whip of a gentleman overseer.

In the spring of 1798, soon after his return from this eastern journey, Barton Stone became pastor of the Presbyterian churches at Cane Ridge and Concord. In the spring of 1800, the West Lexington Presbytery, of which he was then a member, was presented with a petition from the united congregations of Cane Ridge and Concord on the subject of slavery.¹ This petition was considered, and it was resolved that the Presbytery should write the Synod of Virginia and the General Assembly, asking /

1. Minutes of the West Lexington Presbytery, Paris, Ky., April 8, 1800.

asking that they take some stand as a church, to show their disapproval of slavery as a moral evil and a practice that should ^{not} be engaged in, or encouraged by members of the Presbyterian church.¹

Because of his serious convictions as to the wrong of this human bondage, Stone had freed his own personal slaves. Soon after the Secession from the Presbyterian Church in 1803, he inherited two negro slaves from his mother's estate. It seems that, according to the terms of the estate, he could have money instead of the slaves if he so preferred. However, he chose the slaves, brought them with him to Kentucky and set them free. Many years later, some slaves were entailed to his children from the estate of his wife's mother; the will was so arranged that they could not be set free. This was the cause of the removal of the family to Jacksonville,² Illinois, for he determined that if he could not free the slaves, he would free himself from them. This last acquired family of blacks continued to live in Georgetown as free people, although it was not possible to give them their actual freedom. In 1838, when Stone returned to Georgetown, he visited this black family, inquired after their temporal and spiritual interests, and prayed with them in a truly christian and fatherly manner.

He believed that slavery was both anti-christian and anti-republican, and that if persisted in, it would ruin the morals of the country and prove to be a plague and source of destruction to the white population. However, he was not an abolitionist, in that he would immediately free all of the slaves, for he considered that would be most unwise, and would create conditions that he would not care to live under.

He was very active in the work and advocacy of the Colonization /

1. Minutes of the West Lexington Presbytery, May 23 and August 5, 1800.

2. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iv. p. 277.

Colonization Society, stating that if he had a thousand slaves he would hand them over to be transported to Liberia.¹ He urged slave owners who favoured this plan, that they assist the Society in its financial obligations by giving, with the slave, the amount of a decent wage for a year or two in the past. He insisted that a good conscience from having done the right, was more to be preferred than all the luxuries of life.

Barton Stone's life, was to his acquaintances, a great commentary on his teachings. His most bitter opponents admitted that his moral character was unblemished. He loved his Bible and was a constant student of it. He strongly emphasized the prayer life, for, to him, God was a very personal prayer-hearing and prayer-answering God. He had no faith in the so-called visions or "spiritual illuminations,"² but relied on the Bible for his revelations from God. However, to him the best proved doctrines were unconvincing unless they produced good effects in the lives of those who advocated them. His theological opponents admitted that his life was sound, although they did not consider his doctrines to be so; that he was a splendid gentleman although a heterodox christian. He was continually being denounced as a heretic, and in a most unkind manner, but he never answered in a bitter spirit. It could be justly said of him as was recently said of another, that, "His greatest weapon was his considerateness, and his ability to understand others when they were busy misunderstanding him."

In his day and community, although his doctrines were, in orthodox circles, discredited, he was recognized as an able theologian and a very worthy antagonist. Thomas Cleland, with /

1. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iii. p. 199.

Also Christian Messenger, vol. vii. p. 274.

2. Rogers, Stone Autobiography, p. 122.

with whom he had lengthy pamphlet discussions on speculative divinity, and of whom it is said that Stone "encountered no opponent among the Presbyterians, whose talents were superior,"¹ tells us, in his "Memoirs," that the "controversy proved of great service" to himself, for 'he learned more divinity during that investigation, than in all his ecclesiastical life before.'²

Although Barton Stone was, in a day of insistence on the exactness of speculative creeds, considered by many, to be an arch-heretic, he would not be so thought of if living to-day. The lapse of a century and more, makes a great difference in the attitudes of the religious world. As he, himself, so aptly stated: "Of all the changes in this changing world, the changes of orthodoxy sometimes seem the most remarkable. It is perpetually varying with times, places, persons, and circumstances."³

A century ago, Stone was condemned for his Semi-Pelagian doctrine of faith and regeneration. To-day psychologists and theologians are speaking of an inherent tendency to sin, that was introduced into the race because of the first overt evil act; but they deny that we are guilty because we possess that tendency. Principal John Caird has told us that if the one sin "contains or involves all future sins, if any real meaning could be attached to it, would seem to imply that Adam was guilty of all the sins of his descendents, rather than they of his."⁴ We are also being taught to-day that, while the grace of God is needed to attain a full salvation, man must take the first step toward appropriating that grace - that Jesus /

1. Rogers, Stone, Autobiography, p. 255.
2. Cleland, Memoirs of Thomas Cleland, p. 130.
3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol v. p. 203.
4. Caird, Fundamental Ideas of Christianity, vol. i. p. 211.

Jesus himself has told us: "Ask and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."¹ Modern theologians are telling us that the Divine love can do no more for our salvation than it has done "without doing violence to the freedom of the will, its own gift to our race;" and that men must first "of their own free choice accept the offer of God, lay down the arms of a rebellious will, and surrender to the Divine mercy."² Thus we see that the modern position on the relation between faith and regeneration, is the Semi-Pelagian view.

A century ago, Stone was, by the orthodox party in Kentucky, scorned as a Socinian, because he refused to admit that the death of Christ was necessary to make God willing to forgive erring but penitent men. However, in his rejection of that doctrine, he was never dogmatic. "I deny not," he said, "that something might have been done to produce this effect on God, as just mentioned, yet that something I find not recorded, and I dare not be wise above what is written."³ Stone never departed from his published views on the subject of the Atonement; but he often regretted that he had spent so much time in discussing speculative theories concerning the person and work of Christ, for he realized that it is wiser to speak on such subjects only in scriptural terminology."⁴ His purpose in controverting these points with the orthodox ministers, was to convince the people that a particular theory of the Atonement is not essential to religious faith.⁵ To-day, without fear of reproach, leading ministers are taking the position for which Stone was so bitterly condemned. They are telling /

1. Matthew 7: 7.

2. Swete, The Forgiveness of Sins, London 1917, pp. 161, 162.

3. Quoted in Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. ii. p. 480.

4. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. viii. p. 239.

5. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. iii. p. 103.

telling us that "love is the sum total of the attributes" of God - that he "never turned His back upon man - that the voice in the Garden, 'Adam, where are thou?', was not the call of a policeman, but the wail of a Father seeking his lost child - that man did not understand this, until "God came into human form and human life, to the actuality of human suffering," on the rugged Cross, making visible his wooing love to man - that "grace in the heart of God was not created by the Passion," but that "the Passion was created by the grace."¹

A century ago, Stone was, by Trinitarians, repudiated as an Arian, because, like Isaac Watts, he taught the pre-existence of the soul of Jesus, and rejected the "unscriptural and contradictory phrase" that "He is the eternal Son of God."² And although his position is technically anti-Nicene, it is not feared to-day, when men are going to the opposite extreme which is characteristic of the followers of Schliermacher. A real and abiding faith in the pre-existent Christ and the Virgin birth, although not stated in the creedal terminology, is orthodox when compared with the opinions expressed by modernistic theologians, that the man Jesus was only more divine than other men because he had a deeper insight into the true nature of God.

A century ago, Stone rejected human ~~authoritative~~ creeds, not because he was opposed to a declared written statement of the faith of a religious group, but because, by limiting religious thinking by their boundaries, they became as a "veil over the faces of men," preventing them from seeing the light of the Lord. To-day, men who revere the creeds are seriously questioning whether we "can put the religious truth about Jesus, the significance which He has for the faith of Christians, into words which all who adopt the Christian attitude to Him would recognize /

1. G. Campbell Morgan, The Bible and the Cross, London 1909, pp. 48-70.

2. From Stone's letter of 1843, quoted in Moore, History of the Disciples, pp. 397-400.

recognize as the expression of their faith."¹ These men are thinking that perhaps it will "be in the sacred words of Holy Writ alone that the Churches shall finally find the symbol of their recovered unity, perchance in the first Creed, the Creed of Peter which his Lord accepted as inspired,"....; and are suggesting that "the symbol of the Church's unity might be expressed thus: 'I believe in God through Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord and Saviour.'"²

A century ago, Stone was pleading for the reunion of all christians on a belief in the divine truths portrayed in the Bible, but he did not think that an exact uniformity of faith on those truths was possible.³ To-day the leaders in the world movement for christian reunion are telling us that the ideal we must put before us "is a unity which should have in it great possibilities of diversity," They are affirming that "The Gospel of Christ is far deeper and fuller than anything which any one man or any one nation can grasp. All the different nations and churches of the world bring their honour and glory to the building up of the heavenly city, and if we attempt to impose upon the different Christian societies an ordered uniformity, we will destroy much life and the expression of new aspects of the Christian faith."⁴ These men are telling us that, "In a very real sense there is a faith once for all delivered to the saints. In a very real sense the teaching of Christianity has been throughout all the ages the same. In a very real sense there is at the present day a basis of a common Catholic Christianity. Let us sweep away all the many additions that have overshadowed it, and attempt /

1. Curtis, History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 464.

2. Curtis, pp. 463, 465.

3. Stone, Christian Messenger, vol. vii, p. 303.

4. A.C. Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester, Quoted in Bate, Faith and Order, London 1927, pp. 331, 334.

attempt to unite on the traditional faith of Christianity - the belief in the historical Christ, the Son of God."¹

Barton Stone, if living to-day, would probably welcome as his own sentiments, the above quoted statements from some of our present-day religious leaders, and would heartily enter into the co-operative work of the world movements with which their names are associated.

1. A. C. Healham, The Doctrine of Church and Christian Re-union, London, 1921. p. 240.

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